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CLAN MACNACHTAN

AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

By

Angus I. Macnaghten



1951

PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY OXLEY & SON (WINDSOR) LTD.



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MACNACHTAN

From Melan's 'Costumes of the Clans'



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FOREWORD

This little book has many shortcomings, and it is really presumptious for a layman of my qualifications to have undertaken its production. Research into Scottish history is the business of the specialist and scholar, and to neither of these designations can I lay claim. Instead all I can offer is a passionate interest in everything pertaining to our Clan and a certain dogged determination to track down the sources of information available.

At the risk of overburdening the reader with notes I have listed the source of information from which I quote, in order at least to provide some historian of the future more competent than the present writer with a number of sources on which to base his researches. For this very reason I have quoted without shame from numerous works, rather than attempted literary paraphrasings of my own, the only result of which would be to confuse.

One consequence of the chequered history of our Clan in Scotland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is that no charter chests of ancestral documents have survived to guide us today. Instead we must rely on the evidence of scattered documents, and still more on accounts of the Clan that have already been written. These accounts, often badly documented, vary greatly in detail, and the reconciliation of the facts stated is not always possible.

Any success that I may have had in compiling this book is due to the unfailing kindness of a host of people too numerous to mention individually who have given me their ungrudging assistance. To relations and strangers alike I tender my warmest thanks.

I must record a special word of thanks to Mr. V. V. McNitt, of New York, who has generously shared his information with me. His recent book on the Clan, *The McNaughton Suga*, covers many aspects outside the scope of this book.

Publication costs today are high, and this book could never have been produced without generous financial backing from certain members of my family. I cannot express sufficient thanks for this essential help.



I am indebted to Messrs. Hutchinson and Co. for permission to quote from William Hickey's Memoirs, now happily again in print, and also to the Lord Lyon and Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston Ltd. for allowing me to quote from *Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland*.



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CHAPTER I

Theoretical Origins of the Clan

In discussing the origins of Clan Macnachtan, it is essential at the outset to distinguish between fact and theory. Fact takes us back to 1246 A.D., theory at least to 465 A.D. While the theories of the more ancient origins have been discredited by modern historians, it is only fair to devote some space to them, as they figure in so many of the published accounts of the Clan.

The history of the Highland clans has been a subject of interest to numerous eighteenth and nineteenth century writers. Many accounts omit to state the authorities on which they are based, and later writers have in turn borrowed freely from the earlier. It is only in the present century that their opinions have been subjected to really objective criticism.

For the theoretical origins attributed to our Clan we must find the origins of the Piets themselves. The name Nectan is undoubtedly Pietish, meaning either "pure" or "wash". 1,2 Variations of it occur frequently in chronicles such as the eleventh-century Historia Britonum of Nennius, 3 itself a collection of legendary histories. The original Piets, it states, came about 1000 B.C., from Thrace to Ireland, in a body of 309 persons under the superintendence of six brothers, one of whom was named Nechtain. Bribed in due course by the King of the Scoti to leave Ireland for the Inner Hebrides, the Piets spread themselves over most of Scotland. Becoming powerful they returned to Ireland, and the Annals of Ulster contain several references to

¹. "Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century", by Andrew McKerral, 1948.

². "Highlanders of Scotland", edited by Alexander Machain, 1902.

^{3.} Ulster Journal of Archeology, Vol. VIII.



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACNACHTAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

the name Nechtain in connexion with the Pictish invasions and raids, which took place between the third and eighth centuries A.D.

That there were migrations from Ireland (then known as "Scotland") to the south-west of Scotland seems to be well established. In these remote times the north-east of Ireland was called Dalriada, and the south-west of Scotland became known as Scotlish Dalriada.

The late Dr. Reeves, Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore, a Celtic scholar of great eminence, recorded the existence of one Nechtan, a holy man in the west of Ireland, and he was of the opinion that the progenitors of the Clan must have migrated from Ireland to Scotland during the fourth or fifth centuries A.D.

Writing in 1886 to the father of the present chief, Mr. George Hill, author of the MacDonnells of Antrim, stated that the Irish principality known as Dalriada extended from Bushmills or Bushfoot along the coast of Antrim as far as the present village of Glynn, near Lorne, and that from several ports of this district large numbers of Irish emigrants went to Scotland during the fifth century, colonizing the western coasts and the Western Isles. These settlements, he stated, were consolidated into the Dalriadic Kingdom in Scotland by an Ulster prince named Fergus early in the sixth century. Twelfth in succession from Fergus was Ferchar, who reigned eighteen years in the earlier part of the seventh century, and died from the bite of a wolf which he received when hunting. He was buried in Iona, and was described by Hill as a "remote ancestor" of the Macnachtans.

The Skene and Crawfurd manuscripts, however, have provided most of the background material for later writers wishing to trace our Clan from the very mists of antiquity. The former has been discredited by modern scholars, and the latter has been the subject of constructive criticism. But having been so freely used by credulous authors it is necessary to explain in some detail what these theories were.

The so-called Skene Manuscript is a fifteenth-century Gaelic manuscript of Highland genealogies, discovered by the historian



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Skene, and now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.¹ In compiling the *Genealogy of the Macnaghtens* my grandfather, Steuart Macnaghten, turned in perfectly good faith to this exciting new discovery, and to the theories based on it by Skene. Unfortunately his Genealogy is sadly lacking in authorities. The individuals that he names may have existed, but their connection with our clan is improbable.

The following extract, therefore, from Steuart Macnaghten's account must be looked upon as a piece of Victorian scholarship, based on theories that have since been rejected:

"The valuable manuscript of 1450 discovered by Skene, and now in the collection of 'The Faculty of Advocates,' fully confirms the ancient origin of the Macnachtans (stated by some authors to be of the greatest antiquity of any in Scotland) and proves beyond a doubt that they were one of the three only clans descended from the old Maormors of Moray, sovereigns of that ancient Pictish race, which from the earliest times occupied the district of Moray. The privilege of being elected monarch of the Picts, seems to have been confined exclusively to the hereditary chiefs. The first of the name of whom we hear was Nachton Morbet, who reigned for twenty-five years, and died A.D. 480. He was the brother of the celebrated Drust, who for his prowess in his various expeditions against the Roman Provincials about the time of the Roman Abdication, was honored by the Irish Annalists with the title of 'Drust of the hundred battles.' Of the same race was Neachten (the nephew of Verb), who reigned twenty years, and died in 617. In the year 685, was fought the great battle of Dun Nachtan, when the Saxons, under the Northumbrian King Egfrid, attacked the Picts (it is said without provocation and against the advice of his court), and crossing the Forth from Lothian (the ancient Bernicia) entered Strathern, and penetrated through the defiles of the Pictish kingdom, leaving fire and devastation in his train. His career was stopped at Dun Nachtan, the hill fort of Nachtan, which adjoined the

¹. "A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic MSS, in the Advocates" Library, Edinburgh", by D. MacKinnon, Edinburgh, 1912.



Lake, now called Loch Inch, but long known by the name of Nachtan's Mere, where Egfrid was slain, and his hosts fell before the exasperated Picts. In 710, we find the accession of Nachtan (son of Dereli), who is mentioned in The Annals of Tighernac, as having expelled the monks of Iona in 717 'transdorsum Britanniae.' On his death, the wars between the Piets and the Northumbrians were succeeded by various contests for power amongst the Pictish princes. A civil war ensued, in which Ungus, called 'the great,' came off victorious. Amongst those who contested the throne with him we find another of the Nachtans, who tried his strength with him at Moneur in the Carse of Gowrie A.D. 728, and was defeated. After the accession of Kenneth Mac Alpine, King of the Scots, to the Pictish throne, and the consequent union of the two kingdoms into one monarchy in the ninth century, these Maormors (or as the Norse Sagas term them, 'Scotajarls') are mentioned in The Annals of Ulster as holding rank next to the king in the year 917. Towards the close of the tenth century, the northern Maormors made a sudden rising to expel the Norwegians; and the highland army, stationed at Duncan's bay head, under the command of Melsnachtan and Kenneth, Maormors of Dala and Ross, were attacked by Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who killed Melsnachtan. In 1077, the Saxon chronicles inform us that Maolsnachtan, Maormor of Moray, sustained a complete overthrow from Malcolm the Third, with the loss of his army and treasures; and finally in 1085, we find recorded the violent death of Maolsnachtan, Maormor of Moray, with that of Donald king of Albin. This MaoIsnachtan was cousin of the celebrated Macbeth, and son of Lulah, who, after succeeding Macbeth on the throne for a short time, fell at Essie, and was interred beside him in the royal sepulchre at Iona. From the death of Maolsnachtan, the power and consequence of the Maormors began to decline. Maolsnachtan leaving no children. Angus his sister's son, was styled Maormor of Moray. The father of Angus was Head or Heth, a cousin of Maolsnachtan and son of Nachtan, who was the son of Gillechattan More, founder of the Clan Chattan. The Pictish highlanders had constantly attempted to oppose the succession in the family



of Kenneth Mac Alpine, and to introduce their own more ancient Pictish law; and three of the Maormors of Moray succeeded in attaining the throne of Scotland. In fact, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, until they sunk under the ascendancy of the kings of the line of Malcolm the Third, called 'Canmore', they were the real sovereigns of the north; and from these ancient Reguli, the oldest clans are derived. Malcolm the Fourth, in consequence of the frequent risings of the inhabitants and chiefs of Moray, ordained that all the latter should within a limited time, remove to other parts of the kingdom. For this forcible transplantation of the rebel chiefs, the crown lands were principally employed. Thus in the twelfth century, a considerable grant of the crown lands of Strath Tay was bestowed on the Macnachtans, who being removed from Strath Spey, were then and for a long time afterwards designated 'Thanes of Loch Tay'."

To return to the Skene manuscript itself, the genealogy of the Macnachtans is worth quoting, if only as an example of mediaeval pedigree faking. Probably the lifteenth century generations are accurate enough, but it cannot be relied upon before that. At least the author does not trace us back to Noah, as he does in the case of some clans.

The following is a translation from the Gaelic original:

"Moris son of Malcohn son of Moris son of Malcohn son of Gibon son of Ferchar son of Gilchrist son of Donald son of Nachtan son of Arthur son of Gibbon son of Nachtan son of Isaac son of Martin son of Angus son of Imared son of Nachtan og son of Nachtan son of Nachtan mor son of Donald duin son of Ferchar fata son of Feredach son of Fergus son of Nachtan son of Colman son of Buadan son of Eocha son of Murdoch son of Lorn son of Erc son of Eocha muinreamhar." The shadowy figure of Eocha muinreamhar (meaning "Hector of the thick neck"), thirty generations back from Moris, we must, alas, disown.

^{1.} Translation suggested by the Secretary of An Commun Gaidhealach.



Skene's theories on the origins of the Highland Clans have been vigorously attacked by later historians. The deportation of the Clan from Northern Moray is dismissed as mere theory, and an unlikely one at that.¹ Professor J. M. Whittaker, himself a kinsman (see page 72), is equally emphatic that Maolsnachtan, Maormar of Moray, had nothing to do with the Clan.

The next important authority that we have is George Crawfurd (died 1748) author of the *Peerage of Scotland* 1716. His manuscript is in the Advocates' Library² and contains a useful account of the Clan, besides the earlier theorising with which we are now concerned.

Quoting "The celebrated antiquaries of the house of Argyle Mr. MacEwen and Mr. Colvill" he traces "The Macnaughtanes" back to Naughtan, a son of the family of Lochow (Lochawe) "Many ages and generations" before that family assumed the surname of Campbell. He also quotes another theory that the Macnaughtanes were originally a branch of the Fitzgeralds, the alleged progenitors of the Mackenzies and MacLeans. This origin, however, is no longer asserted seriously by modern authorities.³

Crawfurd ventured no opinion as to whether the family were descended from a son of the house of Lochow or from a son of the Fitzgeralds, but wondered why, if they were descended from the Lochow family, they had not kept the same arms, the gyrony, instead of taking a castle.

There is a reference to the theory of the Campbell connexion of the Clan in *Records of Argyll*,⁴ a tantalising mixture of facts and traditions. According to this book the burial ground on the Island of Inishail in Lochawe (close to Fraoch Eilean) contains the graves of the chiefs of the Mac Arthurs, "The Mac Naughtains" and the Campbells.

- ¹. "Highlanders of Scotland", edited by Alexander Macbain, 1902.
 - ². Highland Papers, Vol. I, pp. 103-16.
 - 3. Origines Parochiales, Vol. II, 11.1.
 - 4. "Records of Argyll", by Lord Archibald Campbell, 1885.



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"Traditionally Ard-fhear (high one, chief) had three sons: the eldest called Mac Arthur (Arthur's son); the second Neachdan, from which comes the name Mac Neachdain (Macnachtan); the third named Cambeul (squint-mouth), Cambel, now Campbell," The late Duke of Argyll subscribed to this theory.

One final word before we leave these conflicting theories. The badge of the Clan has always been the Azalea procumbens (trailing Azalea). It has often been asserted that as this plant is only found on the highest of the northern Scottish hills its use as a badge by the Clan is evidence of their ancient northern origin. I have it, however, on the authority of the Deputy Keeper of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, that this plant is to be found sparsely throughout the central Highlands. There is no evidence of it being confined to the north, though it does grow there in greater abundance. Curiously enough, no other Clan but ours appears ever to have adopted it as their badge.²

- 1. Correspondence with the author.
- ². "Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands", by Frank Adams, 1908.



CHAPTER II

The Thirteenth Century

So much for traditions and the shifting sands of theory. In a recent book written by the present Lord Lyon, when he was Albany Herald, the earliest authentic references to the Clan are stated to connect them with Strathtay and Argyllshire. In the twelfth century the Clan were proprietors of Strathtay, and were styled Toiseachs or Thanes of Lochtay. It is at this stage of our history that the results of Victorian scholarship and modern research are in agreement.

For here we come to Gillechrist MacNachdan or Macnacthan, a most tangible figure. Gillechrist was the son of Malcolm Macnacthan, his wife was Bethoc, and his brothers were Ath and Sir Gilbert. This information is given to us in three charters dating from 1246-1257 A.D.,² granting the churches of Kilmorich (at the head of Loch Fyne) and Inchealt (Inishail, in Lochawe) to the Abbey of Inchaffray.

In the first grant, Gillechrist "for the weal of the souls of himself, his wife Bethoc, his parents, ancestors, and heirs", gives "to Inchaffray, after the death of Maurice, clerk in pure and perpetual alms the Church of St. Mordae,³ of Kellemurthe (Kilmorich) with all its just pertinents, to be held of him and his heirs as freely as any baron of the whole realm of Scotland can give any church". His seal is a bend, surmounted in chief of a label of five points, and the legend + S'GILECRIST MACNACHTEN.

The charter by his brother Ath, "son of Malcolm Macnauchtane" makes known that "out of charity, with the assent of

^{1. &}quot;Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland", by Thomas Innes of Learney", 1938.

^{2.} The Charters of Inchaffray Abbey.

³. According to the late Duke of Argyll, St. Mordae was Patron Saint of our Clan.



Sir Gilbert, knight, his brother, and for the weal of their souls and the souls of their ancestors and heirs, he has given to the abbot and Canons of Inchaffray the Church of St. Findoca of Inchalt (Inishail) in the diocese of Argyll, with all its just pertinents, with tithes, oblations, common pasture, and other easements pertaining to the Church together with all the rights he has in the same church. To be held in free and perpetual alms, as freely as any church in Scotland is held by the gift of any nobleman'. His seal is a wyverne contourné—not on a shield. The legend S'AVTH MACCNAVTHAN. This charter dates from 1257; his brother's probably from 1246.

Malcolm, the father of these three brothers, was, therefore, a man of some importance. His family was firmly established around parts of Loch Fyne and Lochawe, districts that were to be associated with the clan for nearly five hundred years.

If further evidence is required of Gillechrist's standing it is to be found in the famous charter dated 12th February, 1267, in which Alexander III granted to him and his heirs the keeping of his castle of Fraoch Eilean, so that they should cause it to be built and repaired at the King's expense, as often as needful, and keep it safely for the King's necessity; and that as often as he should come to it, the castle, well furnished, should be delivered to him to lodge and dwell there at his pleasure.

The original of this charter is preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh (Charter No. 55). The Latin original is as follows:

"Alexander Dei gratia Rex Scottorum. Omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus Gillechrist Mac Nachdan, et heredibus suis ut ipsi habeant Custodiam castri nostri et insulae de Frechelan, ita quod dictum castrum sumptibus nostris construi faciant et refaciant quotiens opus fuerit et salvo custodiant ad opus nostrum, et quotiens ibidem venerimus, dictum castrum honeste paratum nobis liberaliter ad hospitandum, et ibidem morandum pro voluntate nostra. In cujus rei testimonium, has nostras literas eidem Gillechrist et suis heredibus fieri facimus patentes. Testibus Alexo. Comin, comite de Buchan, Justiciario



Scotiae, W. Comite de Marr Camerario, M. Comite de Strathern, A. Comite de Carrie et Alano Hostario. Apud Scon XII die Februarii anno regni nostri XVIII''.

I have seen it stated that among the conditions on which the island and castle of Fraoch Eilean were held by the Macnachtans were provisos that the King should always be provided with a bed of clean straw, and, more fantastic, that a snowball should always be offered to him, no matter at what time of the year he should pass that way. It will be seen from the Charter itself that there are no foundations for these statements.

Inishail and Innischonain. Tradition has it that the island was once enchanted and the home of a fearful dragon who guarded a magic apple tree. According to the legend a young man named Fraoch loved the beautiful Finnaban, and Finnaban's mother, Mego, loved the handsome Fraoch. Mego, jealous of her daughter, sent Fraoch to fight the dragon and to gather the magic apples. This he did, but in slaying the dragon he himself was killed. The legend of Fraoch is claimed by many localities in Scotland as their own, but Fraoch Eilean—the Heathery Isle—seems to have as good a claim as any to be the traditionary Hesperides of Scotland.

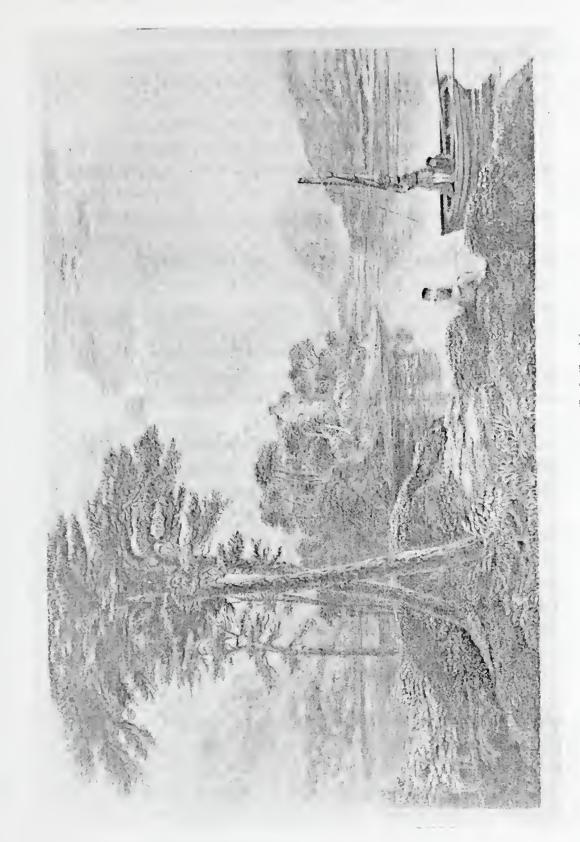
Little remains of the castle today. M'Gibbon and Ross in their great work on Scottish castles have little to say about the building, and state that "the ruins do not appear to be of great age". Local tradition has it that these are the walls built by Gillechrist. The following description written in 1833² is in the main true today, except that the trunk of the ash tree to which the writer refers was snapped in a great gale of November 1911.

"Not in the whole wide world is there a more beautiful islet. Small as it is, it wants nothing—on one side the rocks rise abrupt from the deep water, on the other a shrubby slope showing here and there an old stump or weathered root, softly carried down its loveliness some

^{1.} New Statistical Account.

². Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 33, p. 989.





FRAOCH EILEAN



way into the shallows. Tall trees—some of them pines—ennoble the still stately ruins of M'Naughton's castle, and there, we are happy to see, still alive and cheerful, the large ash that has been growing for ages from the foundations of what was once the hall and proudly lends its shade to the window niches.'

Some eighty years later two visitors¹ to the island, having viewed the 1267 Charter to Gillechrist, were moved to write the following description of what they saw and of what might have been.

"Here we have the site, and possibly the ruined castle itself, where he and his wife Bethoc held baronial court, and in the absence of any information, authentic or traditional, the mind has free scope to picture scenes of revelry and of horror.

"Have captives told their despair to any of those stones around which the ivy creeps as if hiding secrets of the past? Did Gillechrist fence and play chess with his friends, joust and hunt as barons did in mediaeval times, and did his lady ever weary of her island home and sigh as she watched the sunset glow on the slopes of Beinn a Chleibh?

"The castle on the north end of the island is indistinctly seen through the covering screen of ivy and intervening foliage. A little winding pathway leads up a steep slope to its entrance. The tottering walls are still covered with many years' growth of ivy; the floors are thickly matted with roots of old trees, ivy and huzula grass; and healthy old ash trees flourish in the interior and rise high above its walls.

"The ground plan extends to some 63 by 29 feet inside measurement, and the walls still reach considerable elevation; indeed at the south-east corner they seem almost to stand at their original height. They are not all of equal thickness, some being only 3 and others

^{1.} Mr. and Mrs. William Douglas.



as much as $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The interior is divided by a wall extending across the building somewhat nearer its eastern end. In the smaller enclosure there are still visible the remains of chimneys, curious niches and windows, but all is covered with ivy and ferns . . . on the south side of the castle are the foundations of a massive wall extending right across its front, but for what purpose it was built we do not know."

In common with all the Highland clans the Macnachtans had their battle cry. What could be more natural than the cry "Fraoch Eilean" commemorating the royal favour of the thirteenth century?



CHAPTER III

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

WE know nothing further of Gillechrist. The next of the name to be recorded is Donald, probably his grandson, who figured in a remarkable episode in the time of Robert Bruce. This Donald, described as Baron Macnaughtan by later writers, fought against Bruce in the civil wars, supporting the cause of his rival, Balliol. He is said to have been a kinsman and "an assistant of Mac Dugal, Lord of Lorn", and through his partnership of the losing side to have lost some of his lands. But at the Battle of Dalree in 1308 he was so struck by Bruce's extraordinary courage that he subsequently joined him and continued faithful in allegiance to him for the remainder of his days. Crawfurd refers to the tradition that he fell at Bannockburn, stating that there was no mention of him after that battle, and that considering his activity and zeal for the King before the battle he would surely have received a charter of lands from the Crown, had he survived.

According to my grandfather² he or one of his sons accompanied Sir James Douglas in 1330 in his attempt to carry the heart of Bruce to the Holy Land, but I can find no confirmation of this.

The story of Donald's change of allegiance is described by John Barbour,³ who was Archdeacon of Aberdeen in the reigns of David II and Robert II (1328-1390).

That wes a baroune Maknauchtane That in his hart gret kep has tane (Unto) the kingis chewalry, And prisyt hym in hert gretly.

- 1. Buchanan of Auchmar.
- 2. Genealogy of the Macnaghtens.
- 3. "History of King Robert Bruce", Book III, Line 155.



And to the lord off Lorne said he: "Sekyrly now may ye se Betane the starkest pundelan, That ewyr your lyffe-time ye saw tane. For yone knycht, through his douchti deid, And throw his owtrageous manheid, Has fellyt in-till litill tyd Thre men of mekill (mycht and) prid: And stonayit all our mengye swa, That eftyr him dar na man ga; And tournys sa mony tyme his stede, That semys off ws he had na dred." Then gane the lord off Lorn say; "It seemys it likis the perfay, That he slayis yongat our mengye." "Schyr," said he, "sa our lord me se! To sauff your presence, it (is) nochtswa Bot quethir sa (he) be freynd or fa That wynnys pryfs off chewalry, Man suld spek tharoff lelyly. And sekyrly, in all my tyme, Ik hard neuir, in sang na ryme, Tells off a man that swa smertly Eschewyt swa gret chewalry."

Alexander, Donald's son, was young at the time of his father's death.¹ In 1346 he received a grant from David II of lands in the Highlands and Isles forfeited from John son of Duncan Mac Alastair of the Isles and John Dornagil (Whitefist).² The Charter

¹. Crawfurd.

². Supplement to the Acts of Parliament, Vol. XII, p. 8.



is in favour of Alexander and his son Duncan and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, his son Gylchryst and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, his son John, and the heirs male of his body. It is often stated in accounts of the Clan that they possessed a castle in Lewis, and I think that it is probable that this tradition derived from this charter.*

Douglas, in his *Baronage of Scotland*¹ written in 1798, gives Donald's successor as Duncan, and says that the sons and

* G. Hill in his *MacDonnels of Antrim* is mistaken over this Charter in stating that the lands granted to Alexander Macnauchtane were those that had belonged to his deceased father, John, his grandfather, Duncan, and his great grandfather, Alexander. This is, of course, a mistranslation of the Charter which refers to the forfeited lands of "John of the Isles".

Present-day historians can find no evidence of the Clan ever having had a castle in Lewis. Mr. W. I. Mackenzie makes the following comment in his authoritative work, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*:

That Torquil (son of Leod, the progenitor of the MacLeods) did not inherit the whole of the island appears to be probable, for according to another tradition his grandson, also named Torquil, acquired sole possession by running down in the Minch the birlin (barge) of the Chief of the Macnaughtons who was drowned, and whose lands in Lewis Torquil thereupon seized.

This tradition states that the Macnaughtons were in Lewis three centuries before the MacLeods, but there is reason to believe that the Macnaughtons have been confused with the Macnicols (Macnachtans and Macnachtals) and that the Macnaughtons never had a footing in Lewis. Tradition supports the view that the old castle of Stornoway was built by the Macnicols before the days of the MacLeods.

^{1.} pp. 418, 419.



daughters of his house were connected by marriage with the best families in the West of Scotland—a somewhat sweeping statement lacking supporting evidence.

Alexander, according to Crawfurd, was succeeded by another Alexander. The former must have been dead in 1361 when Christina of Craiginis sold to Colin, son of Gillaspic Campbell of Lochow, her part of the barony of the deceased Alexander Mc Nachtane. This Alexander is witness to a Charter by "Christina filia et heres Arthuri filii Roderici Arthuro Campbel filio Domini Arthuri Campbel Militis de terris Muddenard, Ariseg et Mordoner et Insula de Egge et Rume et pertinentiis ejusdem", etc. The date of this Charter is uncertain but was probably about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Craignish,³ was the eldest daughter of Dougal Campbell of Craignish by his wife, 'a daughter of the Mc Nauchtans' and a first cousin of 'Alexander Mc Nauchtan of that ilk' whom she married in 1350 as her second husband. He lived only a year after his marriage, according to this account, and his widow's jointure of one third of his estate was presumably that which she sold in 1361.

Alexander must have been married before, as the 1346 Charter from David II mentions three sons. Duncan, Gylchryst and John.

It is possible to reconcile the rival genealogies of Douglas and Crawfurd with this Charter by assuming that Alexander's son Duncan was the father of another Alexander.

The younger Alexander, says Crawfurd, married "a daughter of Duncan Cairdeney of that ilk, an antient family in the county of Pearthshyre, sister to Robert Bishop of Dunkeld". He goes on to say that Robert Cardeney's preferment was due to his sister whom Robert II called "dillecta nostra Mariota de Cairdeney" and by whom the King had three sons. Alexander

^{1.} Origines Parochiales, Vol. II, 1, 96.

^{2.} Highland Papers, Vol. I.

^{3.} Miscellany of Scottish Historical Society, Vol. IV.

^{4.} Ibid.



had at least one son, Duncan, and there was a younger son, Donald, who became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1436.

Donald Macnachtan, Bishop of Dunkeld, was previously Rector of Weem, and held the prebends of Logy in Dunblane and Invernochty in Aberdeen. He was elected Bishop on his uncle's death, and died in 1439 while on his way to Rome for confirmation. He is said to have endowed the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Dunkeld and to have placed stained glass with his own arms in the adjoining window.²

His parentage is something of a mystery. The Calendar of Papal Registers³ describes him as "The son of an unmarried nobleman and an unmarried woman". He was undoubtedly nephew ex sorore to Bishop Robert de Cardeney, and he is always referred to as a younger son of Alexander Macnachtan. He was, therefore, probably his illegitimate son by the Bishop's sister. We do not know who was Alexander's wife, the mother of his elder son.

Alexander is probably referred to in a Charter of 1403 when "Margaret, daughter of Gyllecrist called Macgillegeachin, with the consent of her son and heir, Finlay Macawaran, resigned to Colin Campbell, lord of Lochaw, her overlord, the sixth part of the lands of Acharne and Leatwea and of other lands belonging to her in heritage, and formerly belonging to Alexander McNeacden, Lord of the same lands".4

The next definite reference to a member of the family is in 1375 when "John of Prestwych, the son and heir of the deceased Mariot Gerrechel, sold to Colin Cambel, the son and heir of Gillaspic of Lochaw, certain lands in Upper Lochaw, in which Duncan Mc Nachtane Lord of that ilk, died vest and seised". I do not think that this Duncan can have been Alexander's elder son. If so, he must have died very young. Crawfurd

^{1.} Bannatyne Club, 1823, pp. 16, 17.

^{2.} Rentale Dunkeldenes pub. 1915 for Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 34.

³. Vol. VIII, pp. 368 and 628.

^{4.} Orig. Paroch. Vol. II, p. 141.

⁵. Robertson's Index, p. 149.



states that Alexander's son, Duncan, lived in the reign of James I (1424-37) and that his son and successor, Gilbert, lived in the reigns of James II and James III (1437-88).

In the reign of Robert III (1390-1406) we have evidence of the existence of a Maurice Mc Naughtane who was confirmed by the King in a grant by Colin Campbell of Lochaw in the heritage of various lands in Over Lochaw.¹

The absence of any family charter chests makes the compilation of an accurate genealogical table for this period of our history impossible.* It must also be remembered that the Scottish Clan system did not recognize the idea of an immutable descent of dignities from father to son.² In accordance with the system of tanistry each chief had the right to settle his successor (within the family). This would normally mean the selection of the most suitable son, not necessarily the eldest. It was not unknown for a natural son to be chosen. Had any charter chests survived in the case of our Clan our task in tracing the Macnachtan history would have been immeasurably easier and better accomplished. As it is we are dependent on the scattered and all too scanty references in royal and other Charters and on the traditions of the eighteenth-century peerage writers.

Once settled in Argyllshire the Clan seems to have maintained its strength and size for several centuries, though neighbours, notably the Campbells, grew more powerful. A branch of the clan must have remained in the neighbourhood of Loch Tay, where the name persists to this day. There are the ruins of a castle in Glenlyon said to have belonged to the Macnachtans, and in the fifteenth century frequent references in the Treasurers' Accounts point to members of the Clan having settled in Kirkudbright.

- 1. Argyll Charters.
- ². "Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland", by Innes of Learney.
- * Who for instance was "Sir Maurice Mc Knachtane, chaplain", mentioned in an Appeal to Pius II in 1461-2? (Miscellany of Scot. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV.)



It is interesting to note that some of the Clan came to East Galloway as early as the thirteenth century. "Gilbert Makenaght" of eastern Galloway signed the Ragman Roll of 1296. In the parish of Irongray there is an old estate belonging to the Clan called "McNaughton" which is now included in another property, and on it may be seen traces of a fortalice. The principal seat of the sub-clan was Kilquhanity. Other very ancient seats, all held of the king, were Dundengh, Dalwhairn and Crogo. The fact that these lands were held by royal charter from early times indicates that they were given to members of the Clan, perhaps as forfeitures in reward for services in putting down an insurrection in Galloway in about 1235.

The main branch, however, flourished over the upper part of Lochawe, Glenara, Glenshira and Loch Fyne. While there is no proof it would seem probable that their earliest castle was on the Dubh Loch at the foot of Glenshira, built on a triangular peninsula. It is not until the sixteenth century that the chiefs are nearly always identified with Dunderave, so it is by no means certain that all those members of the Clan whose names have survived were necessarily the chiefs or the sons of the chief.

It is most probable that the chiefs had many cousins and kinsmen living on the different lands that had been granted to the Clan. Should for any reason the male line of the chief's family ever have failed, the chieftainship would have devolved on one of the junior branches. As will be seen, tradition asserts that on one occasion at least this must have happened.



CHAPTER IV

The Sixteenth Century and the building of Dunderave

THE date of Dunderave Castle is unknown. Gilbert Macnachtan, said by Crawfurd to be the grandson of Alexander, may have built the original castle. Up to his time the Clan domains had been held direct from the Crown, but the rise in power of the neighbouring Campbells made it politic for the Macnachtans to recognize their primacy in Argyllshire, and thus began the sometimes uneasy overlordship which was to last until the Macnachtans of Dunderave disappeared from the pages of history. Colin Campbell, first Earl of Argyll, was Chancellor to James III, and from him in 1473 the prudent Gilbert obtained a Charter "of the lands of Dunderaw and others upon his own resignation."

The circumstances under which the eastle came to be built may be conjectured from local tradition. It has been stated that the eastle on the Dubh Loch was eventually pulled down, having been shut up and never again inhabited after some merchants hawking linen had brought a plague into the glen, and several persons had died of it in the eastle. According to another tradition the representative of the Clan about the middle of the fifteenth century was a girl of eighteen, with no nearer relation than a second cousin. She lived in the eastle on the Dubh Loch, and was among those that died of the plague. A proclamation was made by the king concerning the chieftainship, and Argyll hastened to put in his claim for the suzerainty of Glenshira and Loch Fyne.

Whether Gilbert was the second cousin I do not know, but it would certainly have been logical for the lowering of the status

^{1.} Crawfurd MS.

^{2. &}quot;Records of Argyll."

^{3.} Ibid.





DUNDERAVE CASTLE IN 1843



of the Clan to have taken place at a time when the chieftainship devolved upon a junior branch of the family. It is also likely that the plague-ridden castle would have been abandoned, and a nearby site chosen. The inscription over the lintel of Dunderave gives the date 1596, and it is reasonable to assume that the castle was rebuilt at that date, possibly using the stones from the older building, which had been abandoned for a century or more.

It is only right to state that some authorities¹ place the abandonment of the castle on the Dubh Loch as late as 1560, but I have found no evidence to support this. Already in 1513, as will be seen, the Macnachtans were referred to as of Dunderave, and it seems unlikely that they would have had two homes in use that were so close together. The original Dunderave was probably a modest structure, built to serve in the emergency when the castle on the Dubh Loch was abandoned.

The castle as it is today should need no description for our Clansmen. Neil Munro's picture,² though a little exaggerated, perhaps is worth quoting: "There was the castle, truly beetling against the breakers, very cold, very arrogant upon its barren promontory... cut off by a natural moat of sea water that swept about it in yeasty little waves. It rode like a ship, oddly independent of aspect, self-contained, inviolable, eternally apart, for ever by nature indifferent to the mainland". Today its outlines are softened by towering beeches.

The following lines translated from the Gaelic have the merit of age and tradition:

"Dundaramh of the tower, of the turrets, Behind the trees on the edge of the current; Dun of hospitality, of cups, and of brave men; Dun of the battlements, and of the scarlet banners, Where heroes were wont to dwell."

Having fallen into ruin it was skilfully restored in 1910 by Sir Robert Lorimer, and the modern additions are unobtrusive.

^{1. &}quot;History of Cowal", by Archibald Brown, 1908.

^{2. &}quot; Doom Castle."



McGibbon and Ross! described the castle before restoration as one of the few well-preserved structures in the Western Highlands, and a valuable example of the Scottish style of building in the sixteenth century. The entrance doorway is of particular interest: "ornamented in a remarkable manner, the mouldings being enriched with the dog tooth ornament and the jambs adorned with sculptures of various kinds". These carvings are chiefly of human heads, and are much weather-worn. One figure distinctly shows a Highlander or shepherd playing the pipes. It is not improbable that these picturesque architectural features were collected in 1596 from an earlier building. Certainly the masonry of the castle on the Dubh Loch has completely disappeared.

To revert to the doorway, above the lintel is the date 1596 and below it the inscription:

IM AN BEHALD THE END BE NOCHT VYSER NOR THE HIESTES I HOLP IN GOD.

McGibbon and Ross explain this as the initials of the owner and his wife and the admonition "Behold the end. Be not wiser than the highest", and the family motto "I hope in God".

The meaning of "Dunderave" is alternatively given as "the knoll on the promontory" derived from Dun—an—Rudha, or "Castle of the Two Oars". Whether the latter meaning refers to the fact that there used to be a ferry across the Loch at this point I do not know.

The Treasurer's Accounts now become a valuable source of information for us. In 1507 Maurice Maknachtane renders an account in exchequer for the bailies of Rothesay.² A payment is made to Moris Maknachtan in 1510,³ and in 1513 Maurice McNacht renders account for the bailies of Rothesay.⁴ Gilbert

^{1. &}quot;Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland", Vol. III, published 1884.

². Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. 12, p. 607.

³. *Ibid*, *Vol.* 13, *p.* 582.

^{4.} Ibid.



appears in 1513 as "Gilbert Maknactane of Dundaraw sheriff in that part", and answers "for the relief of the lands of Knapdale and others, with the office of justiciar, sheriff, crowner and chamberlain of the lands of Kyntyre and Knapdale, and with office of captain of the castle of Tarbert, etc., through sasine given to Colin Campbell thereof". In 1514 Maurice Maknactane, bailie of Rothesay, renders account and on 8th August 1515 Gilbert McNachtane of Dundaraw is a witness at Edinburgh to a Precept of Sasine by Colin, Earl of Argyll, to Duncan Campbell of Innerliver, in the lands of Tullich and others.

Crawfurd states that Gilbert married Jean, daughter of Sir John Lawmont of Ineryne, chief of Clan Lawmont, and that he had a son, Alexander, who fell at Flodden in 1513.

The marriage with Sir John's daughter certainly took place, but in 1548, so it is impossible that the Gilbert of the 1473 charter can have been the same man as the Gilbert who married seventy-five years later.

Crawfurd and Douglas are our authorities for stating that Alexander was killed at Flodden. Crawfurd calls him "a gallant brave man" who accompanied the Earl of Argyll with others of his vassals and friends to the battle, and Douglas states that he was knighted by James IV. Apart from these authorities there is no confirmation that Alexander fell at Flodden. Douglas cites "the history of the family from their writs" as his authority, but elsewhere states that the family writs and charters are no longer extant.

According to Crawfurd, Alexander married Helen, daughter of Sir James Scrimgeour of Duddop, Heritable Constable of Dundee, and had a son, John, who was invested in his estate by a charter from the Earl of Argyll as heir to his father.

So much for Crawfurd and Douglas. That there actually was an Alexander Macnachtan who died early in the sixteenth century is vouched for by the author of the *Chronicles of*

^{1.} Ibid., Vol. 14, p. 517.

². *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³. Register House Charters, Vol. 5, p. 835.



Fortingall. This MS., which was printed in the Black Book of Taymouth, was written by a James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore and Vicar of Fortingall, and it records both the passing events of the day and the obits and funerals of Fortingall and Inchaddin. M'Gregor states categorically that "Alexander M'Nachtan de Downdawraff" died on 12th December, 1515.

It will be noted that he gives him no knighthood, and that the date of his death is over two years after the battle of Flodden.

It is tantalizing not being able to place this Alexander with any degree of certainty in the pedigree, as I am sure that his existence provided the background for the story of "Sir Alexander" who fell at Flodden. I am of the opinion that he was an uncle of the Gilbert who married in 1548.

The Register House Charters provide full details of the marriage contract between "Gilbert Maknachtane of Dondarawe (with consent of Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, who has the gift of his ward and marriage) and Giles Lawmonth''. dispensation was to be obtained from the Pope because of the degree of consanguinity between them, and Gilbert resigned eight merks of land to his superior, Archibald, Master of Argyll, for a liferent infeftment thereof to be given to his wife. Sir John Lawmonth and his son contracted to pay, after the marriage, 300 merks to Colin Campbell and 100 merks to Gilbert Macknachtane, and Sir John contracted "to maintain his daughter hononrably in meat and clothes, with the reasonable 'repair' of her said spouse until Beltain 1550". This marriage contract was signed at Carrick on 27th September, 1548. On the same day Archibald, Master of Argyll, gave a charter to Egidia (Giles) Lawmonth of the lands resigned by "Gilbert Makknachtan of Downderawe" in liferent, with a Precept of Sasine directed to "John Makallexander Vicnachtane as Bailie". John witnessed this charter, signing himself "John Makknaichtane".

Gilbert cannot have lived long after his marriage. On 18th March, 1551/2, there is a "Retour of the General Service of

^{1.} Vol. VII.



Alexander McNachtan as lawful and nearest heir of the deceased Gilbert McNachtan of Dundawraff, his brother ".1"

This was probably "Alexander Maknachtan of Dundaraw" who in 1579 wrote to his special friend, the laird of Weem, chiefly with reference to the state of the Isles, the men of which he says "ave a greit". Also "The King's grace hes send to my Lord Ergile and wryttin that came to his Majestie from the Duik of Obeine (Aubigny) out of France, men and that the said Duik wes on the seie cumand to Scottland. It is reportit that he desiris to be Erle of Lennox becaus that he is nerrest lynale dissendit".1

In 1590 the Laird of Maknachtane is mentioned among the chieftains and lairds in Argyll, who are to answer for their men and tenants,² and in 1595 there is a record of John McNauchtane of Dundarrow,³

Crawfurd states that "Sir Alexander" had a son, John, who married Marjorie, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Glenlyon. Douglas does not mention him, and says that "Sir Alexander's" son John (according to Crawfurd, his grandson), married Agnes, daughter of Maclean of Lochbuie.

A reference to the genealogy of the Breadalbane family will show that the marriage of Marjorie Campbell and John could hardly have taken place, as her father, Archibald, fourth son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, only married in 1601.

Here again we lack precise information as to what really occurred, and have to base our conclusions on the available evidence. First as to facts: John certainly married Ann MacLean, and he did so in or before 1587, before he inherited Dunderave. We can be quite definite about this in view of the following record: "1586/7. Action at the instance of Anna Nykelane, widow of Duncan Campbell of Duntrime, and John McNauchtane, fiar of Dundarrow, now her spouse, against Kenzeoch

^{1.} Menzies Report, p. 697.

². Register House Charters, Vol. IV, pp. 782, 787.

³. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 654.



McInreoch alias McIauchlane, for spoliation of cattle", etc.¹ The patronymic Nic or Nyk signifies "daughter of", just as Mac means "son of", so we can safely assume that the initials I M A N over the doorway at Dunderave are those of John and his wife, and that the rebuilding or repair of the castle took place in 1596. That John in 1586/7 was "fiar" meant that he held the lands in fee, subject to the liferent of them to his parents. We must not necessarily assume that his father was living, as either surviving parent might have held the liferent of the lands.

It is extremely probable that John was a son of that Alexander who in 1551/2 was declared heir to his brother, Gilbert. He could also have been a son of that "John Macallexander Vicnachtane" who I would like to think was a son of the Alexander of the Fortingall Chronicle. The latter theory would agree with Crawfurd's two generations of Johns after "Sir Alexander", though we do not know whom the lirst John married.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. Alasdair Alpin MacGregor for the tradition that Dunderave used to be regarded as one of the most hospitable eastles in the Highlands. If so, this was offset by brawls outside during John's tenure. On 15th October, 1596, a complaint was lodged against—

"John McNauchtane of Dundarrow, Duncan McNauchtane his brother, and others for an assault upon Dame Jean Hamilton, Lady Ardkinglass and her servants at her place of Ardkinglass and robbir g her and them, forcing her servants to strip themselves and thrash each other with belts". And on 9th December, 1600, Letters of Horning were issued against "John McNauchtane of Dundieraw and Duncan and Allaster McNauchtane his brother, and about one hundred other persons, for a raid upon Aula McAula of Ardincaple and his lands".

^{1.} Register of Acts and Decreets, Vol. 109, folio 358.

². *Ibid.*, p. 322.

³. Register of the Privy Council, Vol. VI, p. 183.



The Earl of Argyll seems to have been involved in the earlier episode, as on 17th December, 1596, there was an action at the instance of Sir John Hamilton of Lettrick, as assignee of John Campbell of Ardkinglass, against the Earl of Argyll and John M'Nauchton of Dunderaw for spoliation.¹

The pious admonition inscribed over the doorway of Dunderave hardly seems in keeping with John's mode of life. This life would certainly not have found favour with a scholar, a fact which should be borne in mind when we come to discuss the identity of Shane Dhu, the progenitor of the Irish branch of the family.

Dunderave's reputation for hospitality may have been connected with the fact that it was the starting point of a ferry across Loch Fyne, so that many a traveller may have been delayed there and given shelter in rough weather. The ghost of a ferryman, clad in a long cloak, is still sometimes seen outside the castle, usually, it is said, by those who soon after run into danger of drowning.²

The story of one man who was provided with a boat at Dunderave is told by Mr. Alasdair Alpin MacGregor in Wild Drumalbain; Lamont, heir to the Laird of Cowal, had killed young MacGregor of Glenstrae in a brawl. Fleeing from the MacGregor henchmen Lamont took refuge in a house in Glenstrae which turned out to be the home of the MacGregor chief whose son he had so recently killed. True to the Celtic observances relating to sanctuary and asylum, Glenstrae refused to hand him over to the MacGregor henchmen who were hot foot on his trail, and when the hue and cry had subsided he escorted him secretly over the hills to Loch Fyne. At Dunderave he procured him a boat, so that he might row himself across the loch to Cowal on the opposite shore.

The date of this episode is uncertain, but the last MacGregor of Glenstrae was executed in 1604, and the lands of the Clan passed to the Campbells. The Macnachtans seem to have

¹. Acts and Decreets, 166, 251.

². Information from Mr. John Weir, the present owner.



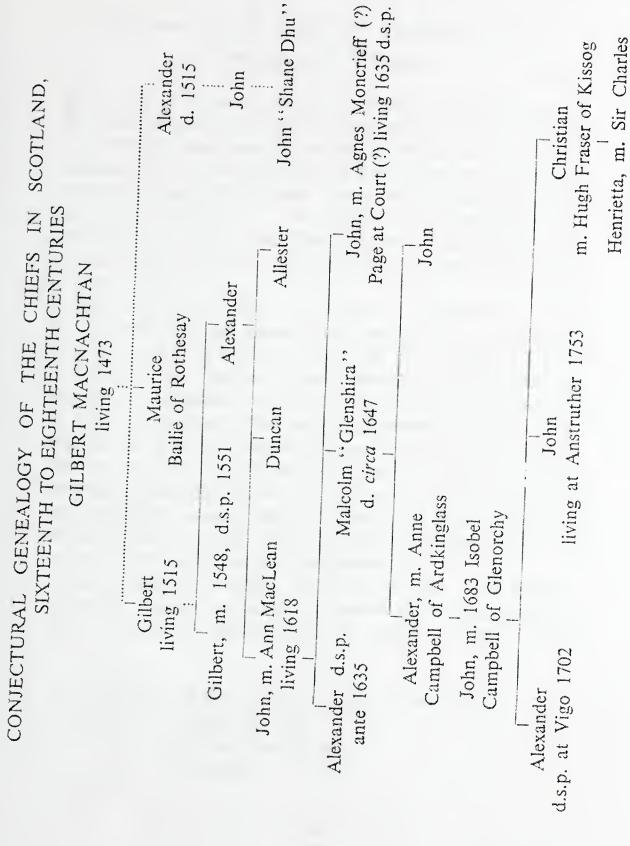
assisted the Campbells in plotting the downfall of the Mac-Gregors, as in his "Confession" Alasdair MacGregor stated that the Earl of Argyll had tried to persuade him to make war on the Buchanans; "and when I did refuse his desire in that point, then he enticit me with other messengers, as by the laird of MacNachtan and other of my friends, to weir and trouble the Laird of Luss; which I behovit to do for his false boutgaits (deceitful courses)".1

1. "The Arrow of Glenlyon", by A. A. W. Ramsay.



Erskine of Alva

1





CHAPTER V

Fortunes of the Clan in Scotland in the Seventeenth Century

THANKS to his patron, the Earl of Argyll, John Macnachtan's depredations do not seem to have injured his family. According to the eighteenth-century writers, on whom we have to rely overmuch for our information, he had three sons, the eldest, Alexander, dying without issue. From the second son, Malcolm, designated "Glenshira", the Scottish line descended. His youngest son, John, is identified either as "Shane Dhu", who went to Ireland, or as that John who became a page at the Court of James VI.

John appears as "John McNachtan of Dundarow" in 1602 as Cautioner in a sale contract at Inverary.² He was living in 1618 as there is a record in that year of a Bond by "John M'Nachtane of Dundraive and Alexander M'Nachtane fiar thereof".³ Alexander is recorded as having been appointed in 1596 by Archibald, Earl of Argyll, keeper of the forest of Benbuie for a term of nineteen years, for the yearly wages of £80, on condition that he did not keep "oversoumes" (stock beyond the stipulated number) in the forest. (The Macnachtans were hereditary rangers first to the king and later to the Earls of Argyll, and from this office the chiefs were allowed to carry on their arms two roebucks as supporters.)⁴, ⁵

John's brother, Duncan, was living in 1605. The Register of Deeds⁶ contains record of a contract dated 31st December, 1604, between Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and Mr. Donald

- 1. Douglas.
- ². Miscellany of Scot. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV, 3rd series.
- 3. Register of Deeds, Vol. 268.
- 4. "Genealogy of the Macnaghtens."
- 5. "Records of Argyll."
- 6. Vol. 107.



Campbell, Dean of Lismore, in reference to the lands of Barbreck Lochow, "formerly belonging to Duncan M'Nachtane, son of the deceased Alaster (Alexander) M'Nachtane of Dundaraiff". An "Archibald M'Nauchtane of Dunderaw", possibly a son of Duncan's, is mentioned as party to a Bond dated 27th June, 1621.

In 1613 there is a Bond by "Alexander M'Nachtane of Dundarow" to Archibald Campbell of Glencaradell for 1000 merks.² On 4th March, 1618, the teinds (tithes) of Kilmorich at the head of Loch Fyne were leased to him for a rent of £8.³ He must have died before 1635, as there is an Assignation dated 27th April, 1635, by Mr. Douglas Campbell, "brother german of Sir John Campbell of Arkinglas, in favour of John M'Nachtane, brother of the deceased Alexander M'Nachtane of Dundaraw, of two Bonds for 5000 merks each granted to him by Archibald, Earl of Argyle, 15th January, 1631". The interest to us of this Bond is that it proves that Alexander's brother, John, remained in Scotland, and therefore could not have been "Shane Dhu", the ancestor of the Irish branch of the Clan.

Our first reference to their other brother, Malcolm, is in February 1622, when a registration of sasine of lands in the barony of Glenaray with the office of Bailie of Glenaray was made in favour of "Malcolm McNachtane of Downdarow reserving the liferent to Mariota McNachtane". In 1623 a Bond of Caution was issued for "Malcolm McNauchtane of Stronseir, that he will not molest Garrie McAlester, friar of Tarbet". In 1630 he is recorded at Inverary as a witness as "Malcolm MacNachtan of Stronshiro".

- 1. Ibid., Vol. 321.
- ². Ibid., Vol. 217.
- 3. Charters of Inchaffray Abbey.
- 4. Register of Deeds, Vol. 483.
- ⁵. Argyll Sasines, Vol. I, Fol. 202.
- ⁶. Register of Privy Council, Vol. 13, pp. 375, 376.
- 7. Miscellany of Scot. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV.



Both Crawfurd and Douglas agree that Malcolm married Elizabeth, daughter of Donald Murray, son of Patrick Murray, of Ochtertyre. The former mentions only one son, Alexander, but we have evidence that he had a second son, John.

To revert to John, the brother of Alexander and Malcolm; he is said by Douglas to have married Agnes Moncrieff, and to have died without issue. Although he and Crawfurd make much of the honour of his having been chosen as a page by James VI, that monarch's reputation was such that it is really no great credit for John to have been chosen by him for his good looks. It is said that on his retirement he was amply rewarded by the King, and that he settled in Kintyre. Douglas states that he became Sheriff Depute of Argyll.

In the 1640s Malcolm was Chamberlain of the Marquis of Argyll's Kintyre estates,¹ and in 1635 "Malcolm M'Naghtane of Stron" was the principal witness to the treaty of sale of Kintyre to Randal, 1st Earl of Antrim, at Dunaverty Castle, Argyll.² The negotiations, however, came to nothing.

The name of Malcolm—spelt "Malcolme MacNauchton of Dundarrow" and "Malcolme McNachton of Dundarrow"—appears in 1643, 1644 and 1649 in the Act for "the Committees of Warr in the Shyres" and in the Act "for putting the kingdome in a posture of defence". The last mention was probably an oversight, as he was almost certainly dead then. The 1648 Act for the Committees of War was more to the point in including his son, "Alexander McNauchtan of drumdarrow".

We have graphic details of the events which led to the death of Alexander's father. In 1649, in a petition to the Scottish parliament,³ his widow appealed for compensation for the loss of his house and property in 1646. She is described as "Elizabeth Murray relict of Captain Malcome Menachtone of downedarrawe". Payment of £100 to her and her sons "Johne and Alexander Menachtouns" was requested. Her husband had

^{1.} Information from Mr. A. McKerral.

^{2. &}quot;MacDonnels of Antrim", by G. Hill.

^{3.} Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. VI, part 2, p. 412.



appealed for compensation in August 1646, but the money had never been paid, and he had since died. The reason for the original appeal was that Malcolm's house at Skipnish in Kintyre had been destroyed by rebels, and that he had never recovered his health from the "long and hard seidge". "His fidelitie to the cause" and "the extraordinar distress he sufferit" in defending his house were cited in his favour, and the petition stated that his widow and "hir bairns have bein left in necessitie throw the rebelle thair burning his landis and taking away his goods". Let us hope that the second appeal was met.

This episode is explained by the fact that some forty years previously Kintyre had been seized by Argyll from the Macdonalds, and "planted" with Lowland settlers. Between 1644 and 1646 the whole of Argyll's lands in Kintyre were overrun from end to end by the Macdonalds, who burned down houses and farm buildings. Argyll's Chamberlain would naturally have been specially marked out. Probably the house at Skipnish was his official residence; it would have been centrally situated both for attending to his duties in Kintyre and for looking after his own estates.

Malcolm's elder son married, according to Douglas, Anne, daughter of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, but she is more likely to have been a daughter of his father, Sir Colin Campbell. He is generally referred to as Colonel Alexander Menachtane, and in the words of Alexander Nisbet¹ was "one of the bravest and best accomplished gentlemen of his age, and a very close adherent to the interest of King Charles I and II in all their difficulties". He has been identified by eighteenth-century writers with the Colonel Alexander Macnachtane who in 1627 raised for service in the war with France the seemingly archaic force of two hundred bownen, but this may have been his uncle. Apart from the question of age which makes this more likely we know that the earlier Alexander in 1627 borrowed £7500 on his lands, reserving the liferent of his mother, Anna Nykelane.²

^{1. &}quot;A System of Heraldry."

². General Register of Sasines, Vol. XX, folios 344, 350.



It would be reasonable to suppose that this money was raised to pay for the recruitment and equipment of the archers. It was intended that this force should be employed in the Duke of Buckingham's expedition for the relief of La Rochelle. Whatever became of the bowmen they were too late for the expedition, but they were certainly recruited.

Their nominal roll has been preserved. The document is headed "The names of the soldieris schipped be the laird of M'nachtane in george massones schip at Loch Kilcherane, beginning the 11th day of december 1627". The "schipping" continued to the 28th December. During this time five of the soldiers were "enterit", and Patrik M'Lachie "stole away be nycht out of ye ship". The company included a skrivener and a "pyper". Several of the soldiers were accompanied by their sons.

It is said that on the passage they came near to disaster, their transport being twice driven into Falmouth and "hetlie followit by ane man of warr" of France. According to Donald Gregory in the Archaeologica Scotica the Frenchmen were prevented from attacking by the awe-inspiring sound and sight of the "Bagg-pypperis and marlit plaidis".

The bowmen were clad in trews, and it is recorded that Alexander wrote to the Earl of Morton, the Secretary of State, complaining bitterly of the singularity of his men's attire: "Your Lordship knows", he wrote, "that although they be men of personages, they cannot muster before your Lordship in their trews." It seems surprising for a Highlander to be self-conscious about an article of Scottish dress, but at this time trews were falling into disuse, except for full dress costume for riding and visiting.

We know a good deal about the younger Alexander both before and after the Restoration. He was the "laird of Macnaughton" who with Lord Lorne, afterwards 9th Earl of Argyll, was in close contact with Robert, Viscount Kenmure, during the so-called "Glencairn Rising" in 1653 against the Commonwealth.

^{1. &}quot;Sphere", 28.9.1929.



Alexander's role was as follows: in 1651 he had been Chamber-lain of Kintyre, but in 1653 he parted company with the Marquis of Argyll on account of political differences, the latter having made peace with the Cromwellian party. His son, Lord Lorne, joined the Royalists. In 1652 an expeditionary force from Ayr had tried to land in Kintyre on behalf of the Commonwealth, and it was due to Alexander's influence that the attempt had been unsuccessful. The following year Kenmure, Lorne and Alexander (the last being described as ringleader of the expedition) marched into Kintyre with a military following. Their object was to capture the castle of Lochhead, garrisoned on behalf of the Commonwealth by William Ralston, the pioneer of the lowland plantations of Kintyre. During the siege Alexander was taken prisoner in a sally from the castle, but Ralston ultimately surrendered to Lord Lorne, and Alexander was released.¹

In 1661 "Alexander McNaughtoun of Dundarave" is listed among the Commissioners of Excise in raising the £40,000 annuity granted to the King, and in the same year "John Macknaughtoun", presumably his brother, is recorded as deponing in the process of forfeiture against the Marquis of Argyll.

Nisbet states that at the Restoration Charles II "not only bestowed the honour of knighthood upon him (Alexander), but also a liberal pension during life, the latter part of which being spent at Court. He died in London". Other peerage writers affirm this and state that he was buried by command of the King in the Chapel Royal.

There is a tantalising glimpse of Alexander at Court when, on 8th July, 1679, the King held a long session of the Privy Council at Windsor Castle to discuss the complaints of a group of able Covenanters against abuses. The Crown lawyers urged the right of the King's prerogative to impose the Royal displeasure in any manner he chose, and various members of the Privy Council spoke, "and at length the Laird of Macnaughtan". At the end of Alexander's remarks—unfortunately not recorded—

^{1. &}quot;Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century", by A. McKerral.



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACNACHTAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS the King said: "You are indeed a great lawyer, and a Highland man".1

There are frequent references to him in Scotland after the Restoration. But in 1663 he was certainly at Westminster signing a bond to "Nicol Yuill, younger, burgess of Inverary" for £21182—a very considerable sum in those days. There are, unfortunately, all too many records of similar transactions: one for 6000 merks to his brother John, dated 22nd June, 1659, at Tullibardin, another dated 24th February, 1660, at Inverary for £1000 to George Campbell, and yet another to the same George Campbell for 1140 merks at Edinburgh dated 21st May, 1660.³

Whig historians have consistently deplored the extravagances of the Stuarts, conveniently forgetting the economic factors of the seventeenth century which were reflected by soaring prices. Traditional sources of revenue, however, to King and landlord alike, showed no comparable increase, and one can well appreciate that Alexander, by no means the first of his family to be faced with these new conditions, found it essential to borrow large sums of money.

The day of reckoning was near at hand, but in the early years after the Restoration, Alexander and his family must have felt that their long years of loyalty to the Stuart cause had at last born fruit. According to Douglas he was to have been appointed heritable Sheriff of Argyllshire, but the patent never passed the seals, due to some difference between him and the Duke of Lauderdale.

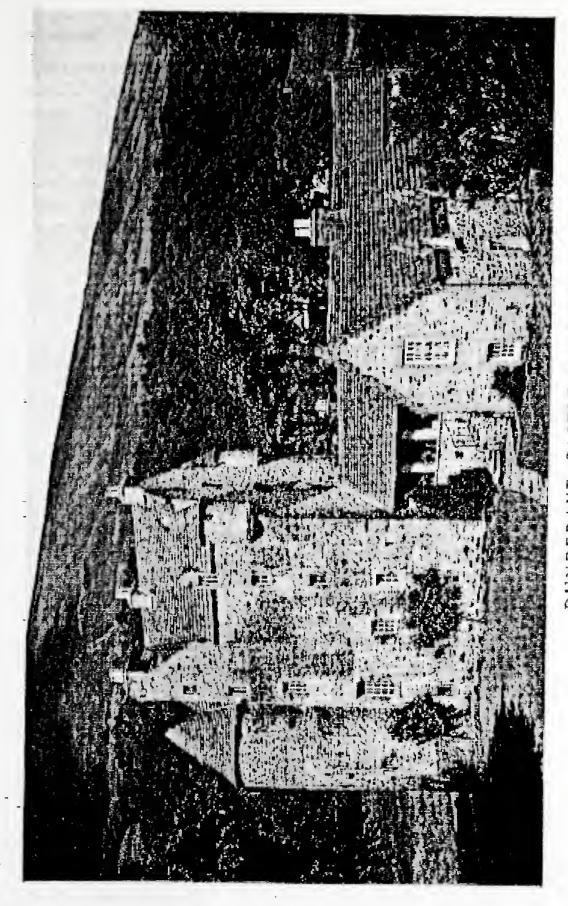
There are two references to him in 1670. On 3rd November a Protestation was entered in the name of the Earl of Argyll against "Alexander McNachtan of Dundaraw" and the Admiralty court held by him, "that the same should not be in prejudice to the Earl as to his right and possession of the assise

¹. "History of the Sufferings of the Church in Scotland", Vol. III, p. 168, by Wodrow.

². Register of Durie Deeds, Vol. 12.

³. *Ibid*.





DUNDERAVE CASTLE TO-DAY

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herring and holding courts upon the fleet". On 10th November Thomas Ogilvie, one of the fishers at Greenock, entered a Protestation against him "that he should be liable for all damage sustained through the pointing of their fish".

The events of the night of 31st March and 1st April, 1681, are described in two letters which are reproduced in the Sixth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission.² One of the originals is now preserved at Dunderave. The addressee is unknown.

DUNDURAY, APRYLL I [1671], Much honored, Ifynd it my deutie to advertyse youe of ane sad accident that islatlie falline out at Inverary. Your coussine, Collonell Meinzies, was yesternight drinking with the Laird of Lochineall and young Lochbuy. Being aftir cups, Lochbuy offered to beat the Collonell. The candill went out, ther was ane pistoll discharged, and Lochineall was shott deid through the heide. When the candill was lighted, Lochbuy and Inchonnell, being Lochineall's sons in laue, thought to have killed the Collonell, but Inerliver and other gentellmen who were present did not permitt theme.

My Lord* was advertysed who cam presentlie and apprehended all the company: Collonell Meinzies denyes the fact, but it is geiven out that he is the actor. The most pairt of the name of Campbell ar to be att Inverary this night. I feire the Collonell will gett hearde measure if theer be not ane tymlie preventione. I sent twyce this morneing to try iff any might have accesse to hime, but all to noe purpose. I wish ye wold presentlie obtaine ane ordour from my Lord Chanclor to bring Collonell Meinzies to Edinburgh to his tryall; for iff he suffer ane jury att Inverary youe may conclude hime lost. And in the meane tyme it wer goode that

^{1.} Argyll Report, Vol. IV, p. 481.

^{2.} Appendix, pp. 699-700.

^{*.} The Earl of Argyll.



sume advocatt were sent hither in all heast to see faire play; possiblie my Lord may not prove wiolent, yeite I feire the worst. I beg ane thousand pardones for presuming to prescryve rueles to your Lordship; my interest makes me committ such impertinences. I have not advertysed his Lady but I wish youe cause sume freinde doe it. I shall add noe more, but that I am, much honored, Your most humble servant, A. MACNACHTANE.

DUNDARAB, APRIL 1, Att ten acloak att night. honored, Since the wryting of my last I have I thank God receaved good newis. Ane servant of Collonell Meinzies called McGrigor, is found to be actor. He hes confest the slaughter, and declares that he did it without the advyce of any persone; but being drunk, as they wer all, and seeing Lochbuy offering to abuse his master, he shott at him with ane littill short peice he carved loadined with draps. He missed Lochbuy and killed Lochineall. The young mane being informed that his master was accused for the slaughter did most ingenouslie, without examinatione, acknowledg the guilt, whereupon he was taken out of the tolbuith wher he was prissoner to the castell and putt in irones. Howevir I wish Collonell Meinzies wer gottine out upon bale, leist he be wronged, but I hop being my Lords prissoner he will protect hime. I will as yeit indeavor to fyng out sume way to heire from the Collonell, and will advertise yowe of all he desyres; but it is requisit yowe send doune sume understanding mane who may have accesse to him. I shall add noe mor, but that I ame, your most humble servant, A. MACNACHTANE.

Our next reference comes thirteen years later and must have been shortly before Alexander's death. On 23rd September, 1684, a "horning" was issued in respect of a bond for 1000



merks granted by "Alexander McNauchtan of Dunderaw". In 1685 The "Laird of McNaughton" was made a Commissioner of Supply, and in the same year, as also in 1686, "John Mcnaughton" was member of Parliament for Inverary. This must have been Alexander's son. John had married in 1683 Isobel, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy. The marriage contract was dated 6th December, 1683, and she was the twenty fourth of Sir John's family of twenty seven. Douglas states this John was the father of another Alexander and John, and of one daughter, Christian, and that he married secondly Florence, daughter of Sir James Macdonald of Slate, Bt., widow of John MacLeod of that ilk, by whom he had no issue.

So much for the family. The political situation now came to a climax. From being loyal subjects of the Stuarts the Campbells were now among their most bitter enemies. The 8th and 9th Earls of Argyll were both executed for treason, the one in 1661 and the other in 1685, and it seemed to the neighbouring Argyllshire clans that the domination of the Campbells was ending at last. Loyalty to the Stuarts, therefore, became indentified with hatred of the Campbells, and old scores were paid off. In 1689 an account of the depradations committed on the Clan Campbell in 1685 was presented to the government of William and Mary. In this there is an item of £2727 6s. 8d. for cattle and other movables which Macnachtan and his accomplices were said to have robbed and taken away from the estate of the Captain of Carrick on Lochgoilside. It must have seemed to John Macnachtan that in spite of a heavy burden of debt he might live to see his Clan restored to its ancient power and influence in the Highlands. James II may well have known his father at Court, so we can believe Douglas when he states that John obtained from the King "a signature wherein all the lands belonging to him or his predecessors are particularly expressed: also a commission of stewartry and heretable bailiary over all the said lands". But alas for his hopes—the Revolution came,

¹. Argyll Hornings, Vol. 2.

^{2.} Scots Peerage, 1905, Vol. II.



and this grant, by virtue of which he would have held his estates immediately from the Crown, never passed the seals.

In May 1689 John was with his Clan at the gathering of loyal chiefs at Lochaber, and in July they took the field at Killie-crankie. But Dundee's death in that hour of triumph marked the beginning of that demoralization among the clans forming the Highland Army from which they never recovered, and within a month the army had melted away. John seems to have remained faithful to the end with his little clan. On 17th August "J M'Nachtane" signed with other chiefs the letter of defiance to Major General Mackay, the Williamite Commander, and on 24th August at Blair he signed a Bond of Association pledging fifty men for a future campaign. "A. M'Nachtan"—presumably his son, Alexander—was also a signatory.

On 14th July, 1690, a decree of forfeiture was passed by the Scottish Parliament against the leaders, including "the Laird of Mcnaughtoun", and the "Lybell" against "McNaughtane" was proven. The forfeitures were not carried out, and in 1691, realizing that for the present it was impossible to assist the Highland clans to resist further, James II let it be known that they should make their peace with the new dynasty. The events leading up to the massacre of Glencoe are too well known to need repetition, but by 1st January, 1692, all the clans, except for the Macdonalds of Glencoe, had taken the oath of obedience to William and Mary, and were pardoned for their previous opposition. John had been among the last to take the oath, and in 1704 the "Laird of McNaughtoun" is numbered again among the Commissioners of Supply for Argyllshire.

Forfeiture or not, the Macnachtans were soon to lose their lands. Writing between 1720 and 1740 Nisbet stated "the present laird of MacNauchtan is in possession of no part of his estate, the same being evicted some years ago by creditors for sums no way equivalent to the value thereof, and there being no diligence used for relief thereof, it went out of the hands of the family". In 1696 a horning was issued "at the instance of John

^{1.} Macaulay "History of England", Vol. III.



Ritchie, merchant burgess of Glasgow, against John McNaughtan, brother german to the Laird of McNauchtan, for a Bond, dated 1st September, 1672, for £86 12s. 0d. Scots''. The final blow seems to have fallen in 1701, as appears in the following document.²

JANUARY 23rd, 1701. Inhibition at the instance of Archibald Campbell, brother german to Colin Campbell of Duncrost, against John McNachtan of Dunderaw, as son and heir of the deceased Alexander McNachtan of Dunderaw, and the deceased Malcolm McNachtan of Dunderaw, his grandfather, for a debt in a Bond granted for 17,000 merks by the deceased Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, with the said deceased Malcolm McNachtan as cautioner, to Sir Archibald Campbell brother german of the deceased Sir James Campbell of Lawers, whom failing to Mr. Archibald Campbell of Kilpunt, dated 5th July 1645, and the said Mr. Archibald Campbell granted Bond of corroboration to Janet Gray, widow of George Campbell bailie of the Canongate for £13,736 13s. 4d.: and on 31st January 1673 she assigned the same to Mr. George Campbell indweller in the Canongate, who apprised the lands of Kilpunt and McNachtane and others for this debt, and by contract the said Mr. George Campbell disponed the lands of McNachtane to James Campbell of Kilpunt and Alexander Hamilton, bailie of Strabrock, and they again, in 1695, sold the lands of McNachtane to the complainer. Service was made upon John McNachtane in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse.

That this injunction was served on John at Holyroodhouse was due to the fact that under the provisions of an Act of 1696 debtors could save themselves from imprisonment by taking sanctuary in the Abbey. John was, therefore, safe from imprisonment, but he was prohibited from selling or disposing of his property.

^{1.} Argyll Hornings.

². *Ibid.*, *Vol.* 3.



It would seem from this document that Malcolm Macnachtan had acted as guarantor to the Marquess of Argyll for a bond which the latter never repaid, and that nearly sixty years later the payment of this debt devolved on John, his grandson.

In 1645, of course, the Macnachtans were still on good terms with the Campbell chiefs, and Malcolm's role as guarantor may have been in return for past favours from that family. As both the 8th Earl (1st Marquess) and his son, the 9th Earl, were executed for treason to the Stuarts, and their lands and honours forfeited, the repayment of this particular bond may have been either temporarily impossible or just overlooked. By the time that the Campbells had been restored in rank and estates they had no reason to love their Macnachtan neighbours and would certainly have rejoiced in this opportunity of getting rid of a troublesome Jacobite enclave so inconveniently near the centre of the Campbell territory.

We are obviously not in possession of all the facts, so I can only hazard a guess at what may have happened. It will be seen in the next chapter, however, that the father-in-law of the last Macnachtan of Dunderave was suspected of murdering his grandson, thereby acquiring Dunderave, so that there may even at that date have been something left out of the wreck of the family fortunes.



CHAPTER VI

The Eighteenth Century

WE do not know when John Macnachtan, of Killiecrankie fame, died, but he seems to have been living in 1703. The Sheriff Court Books of Argyll at Inverary contain entries in 1701 and 1703 of two bonds by "John M'Naughtan, uncle to the Laird of M'Naughtan". He can only have been the younger brother of Alexander, the Cavalier, and by 1703 must have reached a considerable age.

Of John Macnachtan's family his eldest son, Alexander, became a captain in Queen Anne's Guards, and was killed in the expedition to Vigo in 1702. His daughter Christian, according to Douglas, married Hugh Fraser of Kissog, a Colonel in the Guards who was killed in Flanders, leaving one daughter, Henrictta Fraser, who married Sir Charles Erskine of Alva. There remained his younger son, another John.

John, according to Douglas and to Nisbet, became a customs officer at Anstruther, Fife, "where he continued for many years to act with great reputation, and was afterwards made Inspector General". This was presumably after the death of his father and the final loss of the family estates. He married Jane, the eldest of the eight daughters of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, and, if tradition is to be believed, later eloped with his sister-in-law.

The date of the famous "double marriage" can be placed before 1720. In that year a daughter was born to the third Campbell sister, who had married Sir James Livingstone, and her marriage would not have taken place until her elder sisters had been settled. There are many versions of the story, but that quoted in *Records of Argyll* is the one generally given.

According to this account John was engaged to the second eldest daughter, but her father was determined first to marry off his eldest daughter, Jane, who incidentally was the less beautiful of the two sisters. The marriage—ostensibly to the second daughter—took place in the evening at Ardkinglass,



and as was customary in those days the bride remained veiled all the time. To make certain of the deception being undiscovered John was plied with wine, so that until the following morning he was unaware that the eldest girl had impersonated her younger sister.

He seemed to accept the arrangement, and when his wife was about to have her child her sister came to look after her. A son and heir was born, but soon after it appeared that the second sister was also with child, and suspicion fell on her brother-in-law. John was arrested and imprisoned in the old tower at Inverary, but the young girl helped him to escape by bringing ropes hidden under her mantle, and, according to this version, they fled together to Port Rush, never to return to Scotland.

Of the two families it is said that the eldest daughter by the second sister was called Jean de la Coeur MacNachtan, and that her parents sent her to Ardkinglass, where she spent all her life. People living in 1817 remembered seeing her.

The son by the first marriage was taken home with his mother by Ardkinglass, and grew up to be a "promising youth". But one day while out sailing with his grandfather in an open barge he fell overboard and was drowned off Ardkinglass. Some time later Ardkinglass's only son was drowned near the same spot, and ill-natured people stated that this was a mark of the displeasure of Providence with his father for having drowned his Macnachtan grandson.

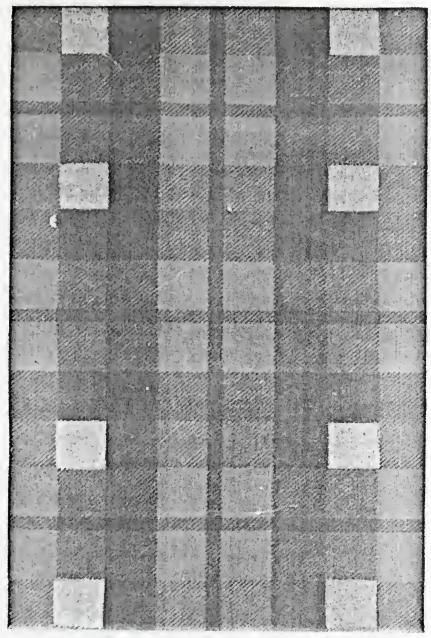
Of the sorrowing wife it is said that in a few days her golden hair became ashen grey, while her sparkling eye, her youthful form and her lithesome active step became those of dreary age and wayworn weariness. The injured woman tried to soothe her sorrow in songs and airs of her own composing. The following, attributed to her, is a translation of the Gaelic original which was taken down in 1884 by Mr. Alexander Carmichael for Lord Archibald Campbell.

MACNAUGHTAN OF THE DUN

Though the night be so cold, Alas! Alas! how long it is!



THE MACNACHTAN TARTAN



Reproduced from 'The Clans and Tartans of Scotland' by Robert Bain, by kind permission of Messes, Collins,



Though the rest be in sound slumbers, Oh! small is my desire to sleep!

It is not the narrowness of my space, Nor yet the hardness of my bed,

But the beauteous youth of the brown clustering hair, Who has made my heart oppressed, who has brought me to despair.

I dreamed of thee, love, yestreen, That I was happy in thine arms;

Beneath the shade of the fragrant birch, In the kindly warmth of thy tartan plaid. So tenderly wrapped in thy tartan plaid.

But on my awakening from my dream, Afar from me wert thou wandering!

Thou brave MacNaughtan of the Dun, Of the tower, of the hospitality, and of the battlements, Of the fair beauteous maidens, and of the brave men.

Oh that I but saw thee coming Along the front of the Leacain!

With thy servant, and with thy dogs, And with thine own noble manly step!

If silver or if gold Would induce thee to sail home again,

Afar would I know thy noble head Coming over the bold crest of the Creachan.

Well becomes thee thy bonnet blue, On thy head of hair, brown, heavy, and free!

Well becomes thee thy pleated kilt, On thy person so stalwart, brawny, and fair.

Well becomes thee thy tartan hose over thy leg. And the fresh red garter binding it.



And well becomes thee thy pistols beneath thy shield, With thy blue glaive so brave, sharp, and keen.

And oh! at the feast or on the field,

The like of my own love never has been seen!

Heard ye ever of a woman, Who lost her reason for her lover?

Alas! if I an untruth do not tell, I myself am that woman!

I shall sit sad and lonely, Beneath the people of the MacCailean.

O thou woman who took from me mine own husband, And I so sorely grieving for him!

May a kertch never on thee be seen, On market-day or on church-day!

And never, oh never, may child of thine Be seen going to the temple of baptism.

Be spikes of thorn beneath thy sole, And an earth-hole be beneath thy feet!

May the drip-drop wet and cold Ever pour on thy bed-stock.

And had it not been for thyself, This, oh! this were no joy to me!

And that, sad the story, alas! retold, That she was the same mother we had!

Sung to the air "Fonn Cruachan Beann".1

So much for the old tale. There is no evidence of John and his second "wife" going to Portrush, let alone being knighted, as is stated in some accounts. Doubtless this tradition arose

^{1. &}quot;History of Cowal", p. 44.



from the departure to Ireland of another John, his sixteenthcentury kinsman, and the two episodes became merged in Highland memories.

John, in fact, was living at Anstruther as late as 1753. One presumes that he took no part in the '15 or the '45. That he was alive at this date is proved by the existence of a facsimile of the famous charter of 1267, attached to which is the following memorandum:

Excudi fecit Johannes M'Nauchtan regiorum vectigalium apud Anstruther exactor, a predicto Gillecrist perpetua masculorum serie oriundus A.D. 1753.

Translated, this means:

John M'Nauchtan Customs Officer at Anstruther descended in an unbroken male line from the aforesaid Gillecrist had this copy printed A.D. 1753.

No local records concerning him appear to have survived at Anstruther.²

Whatever the date of his death, the Scottish Macnachtans of Dunderave died with him, though some authorities state that his daughter married into the Macbrayne family. In 1747, when Lord President Forbes made his report on the forces which could be raised by the clans he merely classed the Macnachtans with several others inhabiting the same district. Like other clans that had formerly flourished in those parts they no longer had a chief to lead them and to further their interests.

The eighteenth-century writers, describing the extent of the Macnachtan lands at the time of their dispossession, refer to the district around Dunderave as "leitir Mhienencain", "Macnachtan's Letter", "Leitir" signifying ground sloping down towards water. Before he left Argyllshire John is said to have "feued off Glenshira, the Earl of Argyll and his brother having lent him money on the security of his estate. Ardkinglass,

^{1.} Hutton Collection, Advocates' Library, Vol. XII.

². Information from the Provost of Anstruther.



however, got the estate from and including Dunderave to the head of Loch Fyne, Argyll got Ben Buie and Ben-an-tean, and the feu-rent or superiority of all Glenshira and part of Glenaray; his brother got Achnatrabh, Stron and Blar-uisdein—a farm with two tenants on the hillside above the upper end of the Dubh Loch, east side, where some of the foundations are still to be seen'.'1

The same account states that John Campbell, afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll, at one time lived at Dunderave until he became Duke in 1761. Writing for *Records of Argyll* published by his great-great-grandson, Lord Archibald Campbell, in 1884 Mr. Alexander Carmichael stated that Dunderave had been in ruins for more than a century, so it is unlikely that it was ever occupied after about 1760 until its restoration some forty years ago.

Little is known of the history of Fraoch Eilean, or of when it passed out of the hands of the Clan. There is evidence² that it was given to the Campbells of Inverawe by Archibald, Marquess of Argyll, in a grant of numerous lands, dated 6th December, 1650, so that it must have passed from the Macnachtans to the Argyll family, possibly by excamb or by outright purchase, before that date.*

The castle appears to have been habitable as late as 1745. A writer in 1822 stated ³: "It is not very long since this beautiful isle has been delivered over to these inhabitants (gulls and water eagles); for a great aunt of a neighbouring gentleman was born in the castle, and in the "Forty Five" preparations were privately made there for entertaining the Prince, had he passed by Lochawe".

- 1. "Records of Argyll."
- ². Argyll Sasines, 1st Series, page 112.
- 3. "Bridal of Caolchairn", by J. H. Allan.
- *. It is even conceivable that it was forfeited by Bruce before Donald Macnachtan changed sides after the battle of Dalree.



And Fraoch Elan's refuge tower grey
Looked down the mighty gulf's profound defile.
Alas! that Scottish eyes should see the day
When bower, and bield, and hall in shattered ruin lay.

So wrote the same author.

Of the island's inhabitants the gulls still remain, but the "water eagle" or osprey had left by 1859. Writing in that year Mr. Hamerton in his Isles of Loch Awe states:

The wall still rears a gable, where for years A water eagle builded undisturbed, By her at last deserted.

This nest was on top of the sole remaining chimney.

The island is today the property of the Captain of Dunstaffnage whose mother was heiress of the Campbells of Monzie. Her great-grandfather, Robert Campbell of Monzie and Finab, had bought the then vast Inverawe estates from his sister's daughter, the heiress of Inverawe.

There is no well-authenticated burying ground of the Macnachtans. Some were doubtless buried on Inishail, near Fraoch Eilean. Kilmorich Churchyard at the head of Loch Fyne would seem a probable site. Dysart Churchyard in the Parish of Glenorchy is said to contain Macnachten tombs.¹

I have deliberately refrained from investigating the histories of the families of the Macnachtan clansmen who remained, leaderless, in Scotland, as that task is outside the scope of this book.

I must, however, make one exception, and record the well-known story of "faithful John" whose loyalty and devotion cost him his life in 1746.

John MacNaughton came from Glenlyon, the home of Menzies of Culdares. The latter entrusted to him a magnificent charger which he wished to present to Prince Charles Edward, then marching on England. This mission John MacNaughton successfully accomplished, but he was taken prisoner after the

^{1.} Orig. Paroch., Vol. II.



battle of Culloden and sent to Carlisle for trial. There he was condemned to be hanged, but he was offered a pardon if he would reveal on whose behalf he had taken the horse to the Prince. His reply was to ask his interrogators whether they really believed him to be such a villain as to comply with their request, adding that, were he to do so, his native countrymen would so despise him that they would hunt him out of the land. The offer to pardon him was repeated on the scaffold, but he died firm to his fidelity.

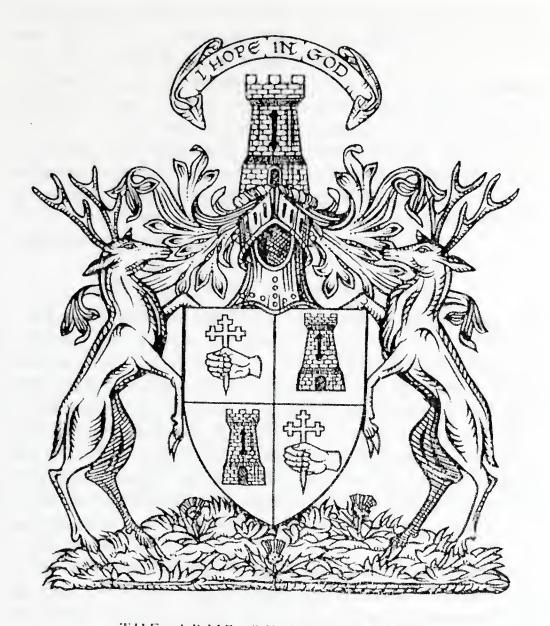
Sometime after the '45—we do not know the exact date, but it was presumably after John's death at Anstruther which was in or after 1753—members of the Clan began looking for a new chief.

How the Clan came into touch with Shane Dhu's descendants in Ireland is uncertain, but it is believed that a Mr. Alexander MacNaughton, of Woodend, Glenlyon, in Perthshire, heard of them through an Irish friend of his who lived in the Bushmills neighbourhood.* According to the Baronetage, overtures were first made to Edmund Macnaghten, of Beardiville (see page 68) but he declined. Whether this was for reasons of advancing years I do not know. If this approach was made to him during the lifetime of his nephew John (page 78), then his heir, I can well understand him refusing an honour which would logically have been transmitted to his ne'er-do-well nephew after his But if this occurred after John's death and after the surprising birth of Edmund's sons, then I presume that he refused on the grounds that neither he nor they were the senior living representatives. As will be seen (page 71) his nephew, Bartholomew Macnaghten of Ballybogy, his elder brother's son, had sons of his own, and Edmund could hardly have been expected to have understood the Clan laws of succession which do not automatically recognize the idea of an immutable descent of dignities.

Certainly the Ballybogy branch considered that the chieftainship of the Clan should be theirs, and there is a memorial tablet

^{*.} Letter in the "Oban Times", 27.4.1939.





THE ARMS OF THE CHIEFS



in Ballyrashane Church to the last of the male line, Bartholomew, who died in 1855, with coat of arms and supporters; the latter can only properly be borne by the chief.

Edmund, however, refused, and the matter was left in abeyance until 1818 when "on the attestation and at the desire of upwards of 400" of the Macnachtans in Scotland, his son, Edmond Alexander, who apparently had no scruples about offending his Ballybogy cousins, petitioned the Lyon Court, and the Arms of the chief were confirmed to him by decree on 13th January, 1818. Except for the Lord Lyon's patent, none of the contemporary documents appear to have survived.

THE ARMS OF THE CLAN

We have already mentioned the Clan badge—azalea procumbens—the war-cry "Fraoch Eilean", and the motto "I hope in God". The Arms—in simple language—a castle, and a hand holding a cross, with a castle as crest—are acknowledged by the Lord Lyon to be of considerable antiquity, though there is no official record of them before the Matriculation of 1818. The present owner of Dunderave Castle informs me that there used to be a large stone shield with the Arms on it in the fireplace of the hall which was stolen shortly before the castle's restoration, supposedly by some American tourists who removed it in a motor launch.

The 1818 Matriculation giving Edmond Alexander McNaghten the right to use the "undifferenced arms" and the banner (the machinery whereby chieftainship was exercised in peace and war) was the legal formula for making him chief and for investing him in what were held to be the insignia of earlier chiefs.

His Arms were as follows:

Quarterly, 1st and 4th argent a dexter arm fessways proper holding a cross-crosslet sitchée azure; 2nd and 3rd argent a tower embattled gules. Crest. A tower embattled gules. Supporters. Two roebucks proper. Motto. I hope in God.

These Arms are borne by the present chief with the addition of an inescutcheon of the Red Hand of Ulster.



THE TARTAN

I have not been able to discover the age of the Clan tartan. There are some tartans which date from the early eighteenth century, but for the most part they are of nineteenth-century design. The coloured print of "Macnachtan"—a kilted shepherd or gamekeeper—is taken from McIan's Costumes of the Clans, first published in 1845.

SEPTS OF THE CLAN

The most knowledgeable book on the Septs of the Macnachtans is *The Clans*, *Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, by Frank Adam, F.R.G.S., F.S.A.(Scot.), published in 1908. He lists them as follows:

- 1. MacKendrick, MacHendry, Henry. All descendants of a Macnachtan named Henry. (Alluded to by Smibert, Buchanan, Keltie).
- 2. MacBrayne. Signifies "son of the Brehon" (or judge). It is therefore probable that they held the position of hereditary judges to the Clan.
- 3. MacNair, MacNayer, MacNuir, MacNuyer, Weir. The first four of these names are mentioned by old writers as septs of the Clan. The MacNairs of Cowal Anglicize their name as Weir.
- 4. Macniven, Niven. Dr. MacBain gives as the English equivalent of Macniven "Holy-man's-slave".
- 5. MacEol and—
- 6. MacKnight are both referred to by several authorities as Macnachtan septs.
- 7. MacVicar or "Son of the Vicar". Formerly a Macnachtan sept name. But after their dispersion they appear to have followed the Campbells of Argyll.



CHAPTER VII

The First Machaghten to Settle in Ireland in the Sixteenth Century

WHEN I began the researches that ultimately led to the writing of this book I was not aware that there would be any particular difficulty in linking up the Macnaghtens in County Antrim with their Macnachtan forebears in Argyllshire.

It will, however, already have been seen in Chapters IV and V that the traditional relationship of Shane Dhu to the Scottish Macnachtans—a relationship accepted by my grandfather in his "Genealogy" and by many other authorities, including Burke—is incorrect. To recapitulate, "Sir Alexander Macnachtan who fell at Flodden" is usually described as the father or grandfather of a John Macnachtan who married Ann MacLean, of Lochbuie. They in turn were the parents of Alexander (who died without issue), Malcolm, known as "Glenshira", and John (Shane Dhu) who went to Ireland, the Scottish line continuing in Malcolm's sons, Alexander and John, the latter a page at the Court of James VI.

From a study of sixteenth-century records, however, it would seem that "Sir Alexander" never existed and that he was created out of the Alexander Macnachtan who died in 1515. The Alexander who succeeded his brother Gilbert in 1551 could not have been the former Alexander's son, as Gilbert was a minor at the time of his marriage in 1548. It also seems probable that the latter Alexander was the father of John who married Anna MacLean, and we know that their youngest son, John, was living in Scotland in 1635, five years after the death in Ireland of "I HN M.NAGHTEN".

Tradition has it that Shane Dhu went to Ireland as a young man about 1580 as "Secretary" to Sorley Boy Macdonnell, and the generally accepted explanation has been that this was due to his mother's close relationship to the Macdonnells. Anna MacLean probably was related to the Macdonnells, but she was not Shane Dhu's mother.



Anna MacLean was the daughter of Murdoch Gear ("Short"), sixth of Lochbuie, who is said to have married Sorley Boy's daughter, Ann. Contemporary pedigrees both of the MacLeans and of the Macdonnells are for the most part silent about Sorley Boy's female relatives. The Harleian MS. pedigree and MacFirbis' make no reference to his daughters. The Historical and General Account of the Clan MacLean", published in 1838, mentions Sorley Boy's sister, Mary, as married to Hector Mor MacLean, Lord of Duart and Morvern, but makes no reference to a MacLean of Lochbuic marriage. This marriage is given in A. MacLean Sinclair's book on the Clan published in 1899, but he does not cite his authority.

But to revert to Shane Dhu; how to place him in the family and how to account for his presence in Ireland is the problem. I have no proof of the following suggestion, but it would seem to be a possible one, if one eliminates the hitherto accepted descent from Anna MacLean and bearing in mind the tradition that his father and grandfather were named John and Alexander respectively.

It will be remembered that in 1548, on the occasion of the marriage of Gilbert Macnachtan, a "John Makallexander Vicnachtane" was appointed bailie by Gilbert's superior, Archibald, Master of Argyll, in a charter of some lands given to Gilbert's wife in liferent. It seems possible that this John was the son of the Alexander Macnachtan who died in 1515, Alexander himself being a brother of the "Gilbert Maknactane of Dundaraw" mentioned in 1513. Shane Dhu could have been John's son.

It remains to put forward an explanation as to why any one of the family should have chosen to go to Ireland, and to do this one must say something of Sorley Boy Macdonnell. Sorley Boy, sixth and youngest son of Alexander Macdonnell of Isla, is a well-documented figure, as reference to the Dictionary of National Biography will show. Leaving Scotland he devoted his life to a tempestuous career of conquest in the north of Ireland, and finally made his peace with the Crown in 1586 when he was over eighty years of age. This submission brought him over-



lordship of many thousands of acres of wild country which he had formerly wrested from the McQuillans. Having once secured his title to his estates by law, it was logical that Sorley Boy would have needed a competent land agent and administrator for his vast properties.

Here then was a job for an educated man, for one who despised the rough brawlings and maraudings of the Highlands, and for one who, as being only a cousin of the chief and his family, had little to gain by staying at home.

According to the 1818 Grant of Arms to Edmond McNaghten, Shane Dhu joined Sorley Boy about 1580. We have no proof of their relationship, as the traditional story of his being a great grandson of Sorley Boy's is based on the assumption that Shane Dhu was Anna MacLean's son.



CHAPTER VIII

The Macnaghtens in Ireland in the Seventeenth Century

SORLEY BOY MACDONNELL lived at Dunluce Castle, and Shane Dhu lived within a mile at Ballymagarry, "serving him as his chief agent and faithful assistant in all matters connected with the regulation and improvement of his property". At his death Sir Randal Macdonnell, afterwards first Earl of Antrim, succeeded as eldest surviving son, and it was from him that "John McNaghton" obtained a perpetuity lease of 60 acres of the lands of Ballymagarry, 30 acres at Coolnegar and 60 acres at Benyarden.²

This John is the first of the family whom we can prove to have been in Ireland: it must be remembered that, notwithstanding that we know his colouring to have been dark, there is no real evidence for the existence of Shane Dhu (Black John). This is not meant to imply that Shane Dhu did not exist; but we cannot prove it, nor can we say whether "John McNaghton" was the same person as Shane Dhu or his son.

At any rate, John died on 10th March, 1630, and left tangible memorials behind him. He was buried in a vault at Bonamargy Friary, and both inscriptions on his tomb are of great interest. The first, placed at the time the vault was built in 1618, is illustrated in this book.

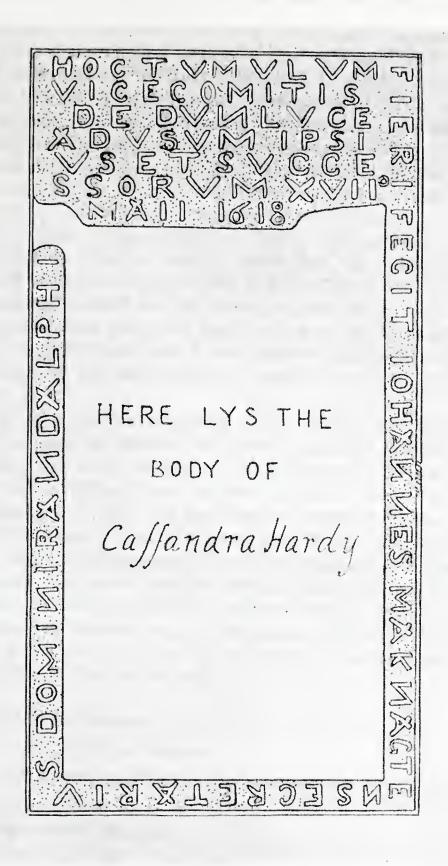
The second inscription reads as follows:

HEIRE LYETH THE BODIE OF IHN. M. NAGHTEN FIRST COUSIN AND SECTARIE TO RANDAL FIRST ERLE OF ANTRIM WHO DEPARTED THIS MORTALITIE IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD GOD 1.6.30.

1. Ulster Journal of Archeology, Vol. VIII, page 127.

². Post-mortem Inquisitions, Co. Antrim, Seventeenth Century, No. 33.





INSCRIPTION, JOHANNES MAKNAGTEN BONAMARGY FRIARY



The use on this tomb of the term "first cousin" has given rise to much discussion. It is clear that it was used later in the seventeenth century in the same sense as it is today, though the term "cousin germain" was more general. There is also evidence that the word "removed" was already in the sixteenth century used to imply a difference in generation.

Recent researches by the Genealogical Office at Dublin Castle confirm that the Macdonnell connexion with the Macnaghtens is unlikely to have been through the family of Sorley Boy's wife, the O'Neills. Consequently, for John Macnaghten to have been a first cousin of Randal Macdonnell, his father (Shane Dhu?) must have married one of Sorley Boy's sisters. This supposition accords with such dates as are known, and in the absence of other evidence I accept this as the probable relationship. I should add that I can find no confirmation of the statement by Hill that Shane Dhu married a daughter of Sorley Boy.²

Our first historical reference to the family in Ireland that survives today is mention of a deed dated 20th August, 1617, granting to "John McNaghten of Ballemagarry the half-town and land of Monekillawly and the half-land of Iland-Carr and Aghtinekilly". The two men who are thought to have been John's younger brothers—Alexander and Daniel—first appear in 1621 and 1627 respectively. "Alex. McNaughton of Guldston" obtained a 61 years' lease of some property at Cregfadoige, Cornes and Rossidermitt, and Daniel of Oldstone was granted a hundred years lease of land at Creggfadoge, Kinflea and Oldstone. Both leases were from the Earl of Antrim, "the premisses held of the King by military service".

¹. Oxford Dictionary.

². "MacDonnells of Antrim."

³. Inquisitions, post-mortem, Co. Antrim, Seventeenth Century, No. 143.

⁴. Betham Will Pedigrees.

⁵. Inquisitions Nos. 41 and 104.



There is another reference to Alexander, described as "of Oldstone" in a deed dated 20th September, 1630,¹ and a lease dated 21st July, 1637, between him and the Earl of Antrim gave him a twenty-one year tenure of half the townlands of Derray and Inagh in the Baronies of Kilconway and Dunluce.² In the same year John of Oldstone—perhaps Alexander's son or nephew—signed a lease with the Earl of Antrim for certain lands in the Barony of Kilconway to be held in trust for Catherine and Margaret, "daughters of Daniel McNaghten, dec'd''.³ Neale of Oldstone—mentioned in another 1637 lease—may have been this John's brother.

There is no doubt as to the identity of John of Ballymagarry's eldest son. He was another Daniel. In the post-mortem inquisition on the perpetuity lease granted to his father he is described as "son and heir, full of age and married".

This Daniel was also agent for the Antrim estates, but does not appear to have been the principal one.⁴ The lands which he held of Lord Antrim are detailed in a lease of 17th August, 1637.⁵ They were "the half townland of Ballentegert, the half townland of Laggathrore, the half townland of Maghernan, and the half townland of Ballenlogh, in the Barony of Dunluce". He also held "the half townland of Benvardin, the quarter of Killmoyle, the quarter of Ballenlorgan, two quarters of Bellelegin, one quarter of Ballenasse, the half quarter of Ardtiboylane, and the mill of Ballenasse, yearly, at £20". Among the conditions of the lease was that the tenant was bound to plant a certain number of trees yearly, oak, ash, or sycamore, to pay 15s. of Crown rent and the best beast in his possession as a heriot.

We have no proof of whom Daniel married, though all traditional accounts say that he married Catherine, niece of George Dowdall, the celebrated Archbishop of Armagh. But

¹. *Ibid.*, *No.* 10.

². Antrim Deeds, Public Record Office, Belfast.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Hill's "MacDonnells of Antrim".

^{5.} Ibid.



as the Archbishop died in 1558 it seems more likely that this marriage took place in the previous generation, with Daniel of Oldstone, who had a daughter, Catherine. Daniel of Bally-magarry seems to have become a Protestant, as he was exempted from the forfeitures after the war of 1641. John—probably his cousin and the John of Oldstone who signed a lease in 1637—was less fortunate. In 1663 he was declared a "nocent person" and his property was confiscated. This, however, must have been made retrospective, as it was almost certainly John who was killed with his followers in the massacre on Dunmull in 1641.

The principal victim of the Dunmull massacre has generally been considered to be Daniel Macnaghten, but he appears in a 1647 Lease¹ and again in a Deed of 1665, so it cannot have been him. This episode took place during the 1641 Rebellion, which was suppressed with savage ferocity by General Munroe and Sir Duncan Campbell. Their methods were typical of Cromwell's later Irish policy in that they did not always discriminate between the loyal and the rebellious, but made sure of crushing the enemy by a massacre of all of Irish nationality whom they found in their track. Knowing this, John-who was a Catholicwithdrew for safety with eighty of his followers to an old Celtic fort-Dunmull-in the townland of Beardiville. It is possible that at that date there were the remains of an old castle on the hill, which in the sixteenth century had been occupied by the O'Flynn Clan after their expulsion from Dunluce. Castle or not, John and his followers were slain to a man,2 Catholic and Protestant alike. It can have been of no comfort to them that Sir Duncan Campbell was afterwards killed at the battle of Inverlochy by one Alaster MacColl McDonnel "who, by one blow of a two-handed claymore, swept off his head and helmet altogether".3

^{1.} Antrim Deeds, Public Record Office, Belfast.

². "Historical Sketches of the Persecutions Suffered by the Catholics of Ireland", by Patrick Moran, p. 169.

^{3. &}quot;Diocese of Down and Connor", by O'Laverty, Vol. IV, pub. 1887.



An interesting link with the Dunmull massacre is provided by a farmer named Todd who lived to the age of 105 and died in 1870-80. He had heard about the massacre from his grandfather who also lived to a great age and had been a young man in 1641.

So far the principal home of the Macnaghtens had been Ballymagarry near Dunluce. Younger sons and cousins doubtless lived on neighbouring farms, all within a radius of a few miles. By the middle of the seventeenth century Dunluce Castle had through neglect become unsuitable as a family residence for the Antrims, so that Randal, the second Earl, bought out the then owner of Ballymagarry—presumably Daniel—and built himself "a comfortable residence with fine walled gardens". Today it is but a small farmhouse, but the walls of the garden remain. The actual date of the building of Ballymagarry House is uncertain, but was probably about 1668. Benvarden House was then built and became the home of the head of the Macnaghten family.

To revert to Daniel: he is credited with several brothers and sisters⁴—Patrick, Alexander, Katharine, Margaret and Jennet—though nothing further is known about them, except that one of his brothers had a son. Daniel himself made a deed on 22nd August, 1665, settling his estates on his son, John. In this deed he described himself as "Daniel McNaghten of Benvarden in the County of Antrim, Gent". He left to his eldest son John "Ballyboggie, Ballylekine, Ballinesse, with the mill thereunto belonging, Atilyboyland, Ballylogh, Ballytegart, Maghercrean, to hold to the use of the said John McNaghten and his heirs male of his body, with remainder to Alexander and Daniel McNaghten, sons of the said Daniel, with remainder to Bartholomew McNaghten, nephew of Daniel".

^{1. &}quot;Dalriada", by William Adams, p. 113; pub. Coleraine, 1906.

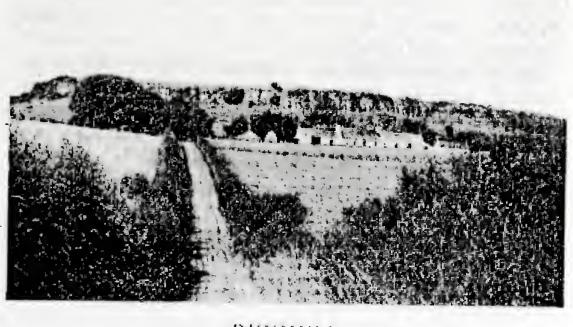
^{2. &}quot; Recollections", by Louisa, Lady Antrim.

^{3. &}quot;Diocese of Down and Connor", p. 73.

^{4. &}quot;Betham Will Pedigrees", p. 268. Genealogical Office MS. 225.

⁵. Ibid. Genealogical Office MS. 268.





DUNMULL.



BENVARDEN



Daniel's youngest son, Daniel, married Catherine, daughter of Neal McKenty, of Crany, but she died on 14th March, 1684, at Glenarm, aged 26, and we know nothing more of her husband or of his elder brother Alexander. An unauthenticated pedigree gives Daniel two daughters, the elder marrying Andrew Willoughby, Esq., of Carrickfergus, and the younger, Esme, marrying circa 1670 Bryan McManus of Mount Davys.

We do not know the date of Daniel's death nor that of the marriage of his son, John, to Helen Stafford. In 1687 John obtained a lease from the third Earl of Antrim of all the salmon fishings between Dunluce Castle on the east and Ballyreagh Castle on the west, and also of fishings at Portneen and Porthillman 'in as full and ample measure as they had been held by his father'. The lease was for 21 years at a rent of £30 a year 'plus a barrel of good merchantable fish, Londongage, together with the best salmon in any of the said ports or fishing places, every day that any fish was taken for kettlefish during the said 21 years'.2

As will be seen from the pedigree on page 71, John's family was a large one, and I am very doubtful whether there are any families today descended from the Macnaghtens who could prove their descent from anybody else but John and Helen Macnaghten. The last clue that we have to the other members of the family—his brothers' families, and that of his father's nephew, Bartholomew—is to be found in John's will which, though no longer extant, was fortunately copied. His will was dated September 1700, and he made provision in it, should his own descendants fail in the male line, for his lands to go to Bartholomew Macnaghten of Ballyhunsley, and failing him to Thomas Macnaghten of Kiltymurry.

Bartholomew was probably his first cousin, the nephew mentioned in his father's deed of 1665. He was also probably the "Mr. Barthollemy M'Naghten" from whom one Daniel

^{1. &}quot;Memorials of the Dead", Vol. IX.

^{2.} Hill's "MacDonnells of Antrim".



M'Donnel borrowed money sometime before 1688.¹ A lease of 1707 provides evidence that he was dead by that date and that his property had gone to John's eldest son, Francis. Two years later in another lease Francis described himself as "of Ballyhunsley", From the earlier of these two leases it is clear that Bartholomew was a Dublin merchant, and it was probably with the knowledge that Bartholomew would make Francis his heir that John made no provision for his eldest son in his own will.

We can be less certain of the identity of Thomas, of Kiltymurry. He figures as party to a lease in 1680 over some property at "Ateticur" in the Barony of Kilconway, and in another of the same year in which reference is made to certain property "formerly in the possession of John McNaghten, of Kiltymurry". This must have been the "John McNaughtane, of Atteytey Cue" who is listed in the 1669 Hearthmoney Rolls for Co. Antrim.

It will be remembered that Daniel (who is said to have married Archbishop Dowdall's niece) probably had two uncles, Alexander and Daniel, both of Oldstone, in the Barony of Kilconway, and that in 1637 John, also described as of Oldstone, signed a lease of some property in trust for Catherine and Margaret, daughters of Daniel Macnaghten, deceased. This property was also in the Barony of Kilconway. It is possible that John was acting on behalf of his sisters, and also that he was the chief victim at Dunmull in 1641. What was his relationship to John of Kiltymurry and Anticur? If they were father and son they would provide a logical ancestry for Thomas, of Kiltymurry. He was clearly a more distant relation to the Benvarden branch than Bartholomew, and this suggested descent would make him a second cousin once removed both to John of Benvarden and to Bartholomew.

In a lease of 1682 regarding some property in the Barony of Kilconway Thomas is referred to as "of Antrim" and in 1707

^{1.} Ibid.

². Antrim Deeds, 1610-1784. Public Record Office, Belfast.

^{3.} Ibid.

^{4.} Ibid.



he appears in a lease as "of Atticur". In 1720 he had the salmon fishing at Kilconway. The "Oldstone" branch—into which on admittedly slight evidence we have placed Thomas of Kiltymurry—continued for several generations as "of Ballyneagh", Clough, Co. Antrim, and there are said to be numerous family tombs there.

The seventeenth century, then, can be considered as one of consolidation for the Macnaghtens in Co. Antrim. The ruthless colonization of the County had been eminently successful for the settlers, and except for those unfortunates at Dunmull the Macnaghtens had a modest but increasing share in the general prosperity. Unlike their cousins in Argyllshire they were apparently indifferent to the idealogical struggles of the Stuarts, and we have no evidence that John of Benvarden, the head of the family, took any part in the affairs of 1689. Helen, his wife, made no secret of her sympathies, and took her younger children, including Edmund, to Londonderry—the Protestant stronghold where they remained during the whole of the siege. She is often described as a widow at this date, but her husband was certainly alive then. Many members of the family will know the coloured print—a nineteenth-century production—entitled "The Relief of Derry". The "key" to the picture enumerates the principal persons shown, and these include Helen, in a tartan shawl, with Edmund in her arms. Edmund, however, was ten years old at the time, and the Clan tartan is more likely to date from the nineteenth than the seventeenth century.

The dates of the deaths of John and Helen are not known. The former's will was dated September 1700, and the following pedigree attempts to show what became of their descendants. One matter which I cannot reconcile is the order of seniority of his sons. Edmund, with whom I as his descendant am mainly concerned, is usually quoted as being the youngest son, and according to an old Stafford family Bible from which some

¹. *Ibid*.

^{2. &}quot;Stewarts of Ballintoy", by Hill.

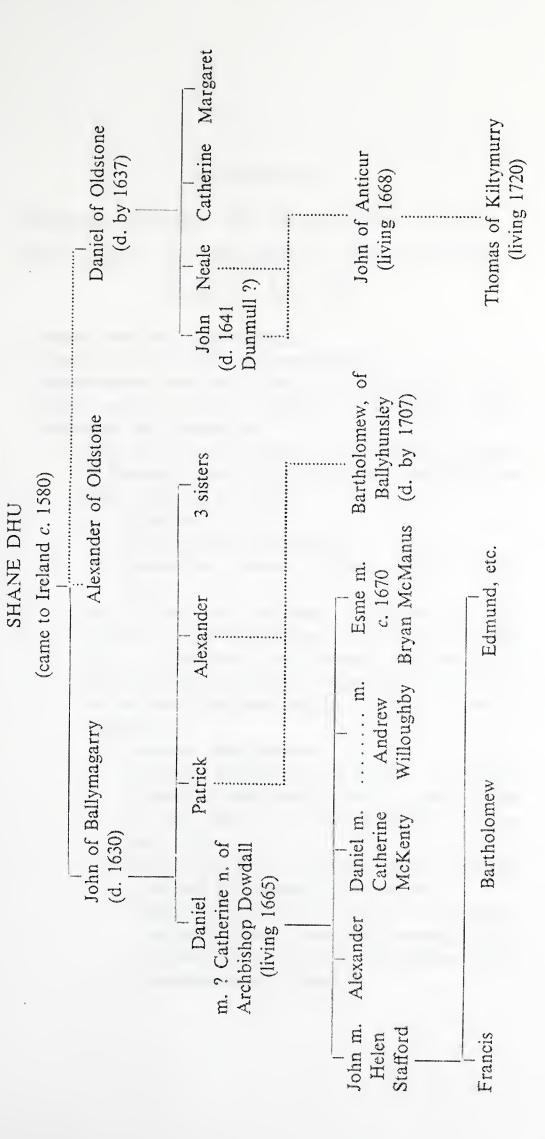
^{3. &}quot;Memorials of the Dead", Vol. XII, p. 180.



extracts were copied he was born on 14th August, 1679. The Alumni Dublinenses, however, mentions two sons of John, "Generosus", born in Co. Antrim in 1686 and 1692—Alexander, M.B. and M.D., and Edward. There is no record of any other John Macnaghten who could have been the father of these two boys, and he certainly had a son, Alexander, who was a doctor. But Alexander, under the terms of his father's will, was senior to Bartholomew and Edmund in the inheritance of Beardiville.



DESCENDANTS OF SHANE DHU





CHAPTER IX

Pedigree showing the Descendants of John Macnaghten of Benvarden, and of Helen Stafford, his wife

- 1. Daniel, born 1674, presumed d.y.
- 2. Francis, born 8.2.1675, died unmarried 1730.
- 3. Bartholomew, born 1677 (may have had a twin sister, Kitty), married Mary, daughter of Alderman Henry McManus, of Londonderry.
 - a. John, of Benvarden, married 16.8.1752 Mary, daughter of Richard Daniel, Dean of Down. She died April 1756. He died 15.12.1761.
 - 1. Child born 27.5.1753.
 - 2. Bartholomew, presumed d.y.
 - 3. Cassandra, married Captain Joseph Hardy, d.s.p.
 - b. Bartholomew, of Ballybogy; inherited property from his maternal grandfather. Married first Elizabeth Cary, of Inishower, co. Donegal. Married second Sarah Johnstone, of Down. Married third (by whom he had issue) Charlotte, daughter of Robert Given of Coleraine.
 - 1. Edmund Bartholomew, born 1772. Captain Londonderry Regiment of Militia. Lived near Clontarf, Dublin, married Mary Anne, daughter of Hill Mills, of Bennet's Bridge, Kildare, d.s.p. 184—.
 - 2. Henry, born 1773. Married Frances, daughter of Robert McCausland, of Coleraine.

Bartholomew, of Rockspring, Co. Wexford, and of Ballybogy, born 1807, married Catherine Naghten, d.s.p. 1855. Monument to him in Ballyrashane Church.



3. Robert Cary Hamilton, Solicitor, of Mountjoy Square, Dublin, born 1774, married 1.12.1799 Mary, daughter of Thomas Orr, of Dublin. He died 1838.

Alexander, Lt. R.N., married Frances Cochrane d.s.p. 1855.

Henry, born 1817. Living 1834.

Rev. Robert, born 1819, married first Sarah W. Moore. She d.s.p. 17.10.1841. He married second Elizabeth Isabella Orr. He died 14.2.1849. She died 19.8.1909.

- (i) Mary Anne Sarah, born 1845, married Rev. Willis Barrett. She died 1936.

 Louisa, born 1885, married Rev. H. Madden, and has issue—
- (ii) Elizabeth Isabella, died unmarried 26.10.1870.
- (iii) Charlotte (twin), married Rev. Thomas Boyd. She died 23.3.1889.

 Elizabeth Isabella.

 Mary, born 1880, married Sir Edmund Whittaker, and has issue 3 sons and 2 daughters.
- (iv) Henrietta (twin), died 16.11.1848, aged 1 year.

Charlotte, born 1.7.1802, married 1825 Rev. Charles Maberley.

Marianna, born 6.11.1808, married 1833 Henry Martley, first Judge of the Land Estates Court, and had issue 3 sons and 7 daughters. She died 9.6.1879.

- c. Jane, married Archdeacon Edmund Leslie, of Leslie Hill.
 - 1. Peter, died London.
 - 2. Bartholomew, died India 1790.



- 3. James, born 17.7.1768, married 28.2.1795 Mary, daughter of Adam Cuppage, of Donicloney, Co. Down, and had issue (see B.L.G. Ireland 1912).
- 4. Edmund, died India 1793.
- 5. Mary, married 7.7.1794 Rev. George Boraston.
- d. Esme (Jane Ismay), married Lachlan McNeill of Machrihanish, Kintyre, and Killoquin, Co. Antrim, Ancestor of Lord Cushendun.
- 4. Edmund, of Beardiville, born 14.8.1679, married Hannah Johnstone.
 - a. Edmond Alexander.
 - b. Francis, married Letitia Dunkin.
- 5. Alexander, born 1686, M.D. Dublin, married Jane, daughter of Samuel Waring of Waringstown. She died before 1759.
 - a. Mary, married Meredyth Workman, of Mahan, Co. Armagh.
 - 1. Caroline, died unmarried 1823.
 - b. Grace, died unmarried.
 - c. Frances, died unmarried.
 - d. Marcia, died unmarried.
- 6. Edward, born 1692.
- 7. Esme, born 11.8.1680. Described as "of Beardiville" where she probably lived with her brother Francis, married as his first wife Bryan McManus, of Ballybeg. She died 1705. (Possibly the same person as shown on page 70.)
- 8. Anne, born 1682.

The above pedigree has been compiled from a number of unpublished family pedigrees, The Alumni Dublinenses, Burke's Family Records, and the Gentleman's Magazine, 1827, Vol. II, p. 495; 1828, Vol. II, p. 600.



CHAPTER X

The Staffords and Echlins

No family history can be considered complete without some royal descents, and for these we must turn to the Staffords and Echlins. The latter can provide a descent from the Stuarts, and it has hitherto been generally believed that our Stafford forebears were descended on one side from the Plantagenets.

Sir Francis Stafford, great-grandfather of Helen Stafford who married John Macnaghten, was knighted in England in 1599. He was made a Privy Councillor in Ireland and Governor of Ulster, dying in 1609. He was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus. His estates included Bradney in Shropshire, Mount Stafford, Co. Down, Portglenone, Co. Antrim, and Glaspitell, Co. Louth. Having served in Ireland with great reputation from 1579 onwards it is natural that there should be numerous references to his career in contemporary documents.

Many people have been puzzled by his antecedents, though his Plantagenet descent was generally agreed.³ This was, I think, because his arms—or, a chevron gu. a canton erm.—were, with the difference of the canton erm., similar to those borne by the Staffords, including Edmund, the fifth Earl, who married the Lady Anne Plantagenet, eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, and granddaughter of Edward III.

Sir Francis was, in fact, descended from a Sir Humphrey Stafford who was attainted and executed at Tyburn on 8th July, 1486, and buried at Greyfriars. This knight, Sir Francis' great-grandfather, married Catherine, daughter of Sir John Fray, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He was a favourite of Richard

^{1. &}quot;History of Carrickfergus", by McSkimin.

². Calendars of State Papers (Ireland) January 1598—March 1599, and Calendars of the Carew MSS. 1515-1603.

^{3. &}quot;History of the Corry Family", by the Earl of Belmore.



III, and after the defeat of the King at Bosworth was deprived of his lands which included large areas around Kidderminster and other parts of Shropshire. His elder son was restored in blood by Henry VIII in 1514, and one of his grandsons married Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn. Sir Francis was descended from his younger son, William Stafford of Bradfield. As for the Plantagenet ancestry, this pertained to another branch of the Stafford family. Sir Humphrey was not descended from the fifth Earl but from a certain Sir John Stafford who married his cousin Margaret Stafford, daughter of Ralph, 1st Earl of Stafford and aunt of the fifth Earl.

We do not know the name of Sir Francis' wife, but he left two sons and three daughters. They were:

Edmund, of Mount Stafford, d.s.p. 1644; Wingfield, d.s.p. 1624; Ursula, who married first Francis Hill, Esq., of Hill Hall, County Down,² and second in 1635 Sir George Rawdon, 1st bart. of Moira; she and her only child died in the following year. Martha, who married Sir Henry O'Neill of Shane's Castle, and died 13th September, 1637, leaving one daughter, Rose, who married Randal, 2nd Marquess of Antrim, and d.s.p. 1707; Mary, who married John Echlin, Esq., of Ardquin, County Down.

Mary Echlin's second son, Francis, assumed the name of Stafford and succeeded to the estates of his uncle. He was High Sheriff of County Antrim in 1667. He is said to have married Sarah McDonnell, daughter of Sir James McDonnell, 2nd Bt., and great-great-granddaughter of Sorley Boy.³

Francis Stafford had two sons and one daughter. Of the former I have only investigated the line of descent of the Duke of Wellington from his elder son, Edmund Francis. His daughter, Helen, married John Macnaghten. Edmund Francis

Visitation of Berks 1665-6, Harleian Society Publications, Vol. 56.

^{1.} Bridges and Baker's "Histories of Northants". The Genealogist, New Series, Vol. 31.

². For descendants of this marriage see Burke's Peerage— Marguess of Downshire.

³. Lodge's Peerage, Vol. 1.



Stafford was the "Iron Duke's" great-grandfather, his daughter Anne marrying Arthur, 1st Viscount Dungannon. Their daughter, Anne, married Garret, 1st Earl of Mornington, and was mother of the 1st Duke of Wellington. The Duke and his contemporary, the first Sir Francis Macnaghten, were, therefore, second cousins once removed.

This lengthy explanation of the family relationship is given for no reasons of snobbery, but to record accurately a connexion that has often in the past given rise to inaccurate conjectures.

So much for the Staffords. There are to this day at Dundarave an interesting series of Stafford portraits which were formerly at Beardiville.

The Echlin ancestry brought a new flow of Scottish blood into the family.

John Echlin of Ardquin, who married Mary Stafford, was grandson of Henry Echlin of Pittadro, Fife. His marriage contract to Grizel Colvill, daughter of Robert Colvill of Cleish, was dated 27th May, 1561, but elsewhere he is stated to have married her in 1550. She was sixth in descent from Princess Mary, daughter of Robert III, and the ramifications of her ancestry can be found by anyone with sufficient leisure or enthusiasm to explore the Scots Peerage. The Lindsays of Crawford, the Maxwells of Pollok, the Crichtons of Sanquhar, the Kennedys of Dunure, and the Huntleys are a few of the families from which she was descended.

The Echlins themselves were a family of some distinction. There are scattered references to them in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century records, and they were lairds of Pittadro in 1457.³ Henry Echlin had three sons. The youngest, David, became physician to Anne of Denmark, Consort of James VI, and the second son, Robert, founder of the Irish branch and father of John Echlin of Ardquin, was made Bishop of Down and Connor

^{1.} Scots Peerage, Vol. II.

². ''Genealogical Memoirs of the Echlin Family'', by Rev. John R. Echlin, M.A.

³. Ibid.



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACNACHTAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS in 1613. The Bishop married Jane, daughter of James Scion of Latrisse.

Henry Echlin's eldest son, William, inherited Pittadro. He married Margaret Henderson, of Fordell, Fife, who in 1649 committed suicide by poison or hanging in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, where she had been imprisoned while awaiting judgment on a charge of witchcraft. Little is known of their son, Henry, except that he parted with his ancestral estate of Pittadro to his relatives, the Fordell Hendersons, and died without issue. His uncle, the Bishop, thereupon became head and representative of the Echlin family.¹

1. .Ibid



CHAPTER XI

The Macnaghtens in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century

I will be seen from the pedigree of the descendants of John and Helen Maenaghten that the family was quite strong numerically throughout the eighteenth century. By 1855, however, they were extinct in the male line, except for the descendants of Edmund Macnaghten's younger son, Francis, the circumstances of whose birth were, to say the least, remarkable.

We know little about Edmund's life. He seems to have lived with his eldest brother, Francis, at Beardiville. Francis had a lease of the Toberdornan property, which included Beardiville, dated 27th April, 1709, from the Earl of Antrim for 31 years at £16 per annum.\(^1\) On his death in 1730 Edmund took over the estate. He must at one time have been in the Army, as old people in the neighbourhood used to refer to him as "the cornet".\(^2\)

Under the terms of their father's will (dated September 1700) Benvarden was left to Alexander, and his heirs male. Francis, the eldest sen, received £5 quarterly, as a token of his father's goodwill, but was otherwise provided for. In the event of Alexander having no son the property was to pass to his brother, Bartholomew, and his heirs male, failing whom to Edmund. In the event of each branch dying out he left the property to Bartholomew Macnaghten of Ballyhunsley, and failing him to Thomas Macnaghten of Kiltimurry.

What happened in fact was that Alexander had no son, so that on his death Benvarden passed to his brother, Bartholomew, and on his death to his son, John, then six years old.

John's tempestuous career is known only too well, though authorities differ slightly over certain details and in their assessment of his character. The following account is compiled from

^{1.} Antrim Deeds—Public Record Office, Belfast.

^{2.} The late Miss Lecky.



those in the Dictionary of National Biography (itself based on contemporary accounts in the Gentleman's Magazine and Scots Magazine 1761), Vol. 1 of Hickey's Memoirs, and *Family Romance*, by Burke.

All authorities are agreed about his 'handsome person and insinuating address'. His passion for gambling dated from his schooldays, and soon after his majority he found himself deeply in debt. Benvarden was heavily mortgaged, but marriage redeemed his fortunes temporarily. His wife, Mary Daniel, daughter of the Dean of Down and a sister of Lady Massarene, had means of her own, and it is said that she married him on condition that he gambled no more.* His reclamation lasted two years, after which his wife released him from his pledge, and he returned to the tables with renewed zest. An attempt soon after to arrest him for debt so alarmed his wife, who was expecting a child, that she died after the birth of her daughter.

His brother-in-law, Lord Massarene, then obtained for him the post of Collector of Taxes in Coleraine, worth £200 a year, but this merely put money in his way, and he soon lost his position, having gambled away £800 of the collected taxes. To meet these debts his estate was sequestered.

At this crisis Andrew Knox, of Prehen, who had known him since his childhood, befriended him, and invited him to stay at his home. Unfortunately there was a daughter, Mary Anne, aged fifteen. More unfortunate still was the fact that she had a fortune of £5000.

John determined to marry Mary Anne Knox. Although her father would not agree to his suit, it was not difficult for John to ingratiate himself with the susceptible young lady. Believing that her father had secretly consented to their marriage she was persuaded to read over the marriage service with John at a house in Londonderry before a young man of eighteen called Hamilton.

^{*} According to the Betham MSS. (268 in the Genealogical Office Manuscripts, Dublin) the marriage took place on 16th August, 1752. There were three children, including Bartholomew and Cassandra. The mother died April 1756.



John's efforts to have this contract recognized by the Knox family were in vain. His uncle, Alderman MacManus, foolishly supported him, and gave him shelter after he was wounded in the inevitable duel. Both parties then went to law over the "marriage contract", and the Prerogative Court at Armagh set it aside, awarding £500 damages against John.

To avoid a writ sued out against him for these damages John withdrew to England. Probably it was during this visit—he was also at the gaming tables at Bath—that he visited his old friends the Hickeys at Twickenham. William Hickey described him as one of the handsomest men he ever saw, "notwithstanding that there was a fierceness in his manner that astonished those not intimately acquainted with him". Hickey's mother was terrified of him, and never felt easy in his presence.

Back in Ireland in August 1761, John, disguised as a common sailor, attempted to see Miss Knox. He did not succeed, and he aroused the fears of the Knox family by threatening publicly to carry her off.

One sobering influence in John's life had been the existence of his widowed uncle, Edmund Macnaghten. Edmund's life must have been uneventful but comfortable. In 1747 he had been High Sheriff for Co. Antrim, and in a rare moment of respectability nine years later John had held this office. Edmund's wife, *née* Leonora Vesey, had died childless, so that John was the logical heir to the old man's estate.

In 1761, however, Edmund, aged 82, remarried. His second wife, Hannah Johnstone, is described as the daughter of "John Johnstone, Esquire, of Belfast". The avowed purpose of this marriage was that, should he have no child of his own, his fortune should go to his young wife, he being "revolted at the infamous career of his nephew". The marriage, of course, made John desperate, as he had been counting on inheriting his uncle's estate in the not too distant future, and the plan to abduct Miss Knox was swiftly conceived.

Accounts of the actual attempt differ in some details. Certain it is that it took place on 10th November, 1761, about 11 o'clock,



at a narrow part of the road at Cloughhean, near Strabane, John having learnt of Mr. Knox's intention of passing that way while taking his daughter under guard for safety to Dublin.

Whether John or his henchmen or the guards that accompanied the Knox postchaise fired the first shot is uncertain, but shooting there was in plenty, and John himself was badly hurt. After he had been wounded, John fired into the postchaise, intending to kill Mr. Knox. The shot missed him, but a second random shot through the postchaise mortally wounded Miss Knox, who died in great agony some hours later at a nearby farm.

John appears to have made some half-hearted efforts to escape, but he was captured soon after in a hayloft. His principal accomplice, Dunlop, was found in a meal chest at the mill at Ballybogy. Ballybogy House was, incidentally, the home of John's younger brother, Bartholomew, who had managed to get possession before the government's seizure of Benvarden and the rest of John's estate.

Verdicts of wilful murder were brought in against both John and Dunlop at a coroner's inquest, and they were brought to trial at Strabane on 11th December. John was brought into court on a bed, dressed in a white flannel waistcoat, with black buttons and holes, a black crape about his arm, a dirty particular oldered nightcap upon his head, and a beard of a month's growth.

During the time of his arrest and trial his brother Bartholomew did not desert him. The affection of the two brothers and the implacable rage of their octogenarian uncle Edmund was doubtless the cause of the estrangement between Edmund's and Bartholomew's descendants, an estrangement which survived the death of the latter's last male heir in 1855.

To revert to John: it is said that at his trial his eloquent defence drew tears from many of the spectators. He argued that he loved Miss Knox, whom he considered to be his wife, that he and his companions were armed solely in order to oppose force by force, and that he only fired at the coach when wounded and in agony, not knowing what he did. He pleaded for the life of his accomplice, Dunlop, stating that he had acted wholly under his





EDMUND MACNAGHTEN OF BEARDIVILLE
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influence in what he did. But his efforts were unavailing, and both were sentenced to be hanged at Strabane on the 15th December.

John was a man of great personal popularity, and, of course, the populace considered that he had merely tried to rescue his wrongfully detained wife. No one, therefore, would take part in the work of erecting a gallows, which eventually had to be provided by an uncle of Miss Knox.

The gallows was built on a plain between Strabane and Lifford. John, dressed in a very slovenly manner and in the same coat which he wore on the day of the murder, was brought to the place of execution. To make his death as easy as possible he adjusted the rope himself, climbed to the very top of the ladder, and threw himself off, hoping to break his neck. But the force was such that the rope broke and John fell to the ground, stunned. The crowd urged him to escape, but he refused, and remounted the ladder remarking that no one should ever speak of him as "Half-hanged Macnaghten".

According to some accounts the rope broke three times—an accident that entitled him to his liberty—but he bade the Sheriff proceed.

John and Dunlop were buried in the same grave behind the Church of Strabane after their heads had been severed from their bodies. "Such was the fate of John Macnaghten," records Burke, "a man designed by nature for better things, but one in whose mind the seeds of goodness were destroyed at an early period of life by a passion for gambling."

A curious survival of the affair is the actual postchaise in which Miss Knox was shot. It is now in a museum in Londonderry.

We know little of John's only surviving child, Cassandra. She is said to have married a Captain Joseph Hardy, but to have left no issue. She was buried in the tomb of her ancestor at Bonamargy.

What exactly became of Benvarden during John's turbulent majority is not clear. It was sold in 1798 by Cassandra and her husband to Mr. Hugh Montgomery, the purchase price being £27,000. The sale was probably by direction of the court, one



of the parties to the Deed being W. Westly Pole, Chief Remembrancer of the Court of the Exchequer, so it is doubtful whether Cassandra gained much from it.

On 2nd August, 1762, Edmund Macnaghten's elder son, Edmond Alexander,² was born. His younger son, Francis, was born a year later to the very day. We know nothing more of his wife, whether she survived him or died young, once having done her duty by providing two heirs, and nothing is known of her father's family.

Edmund was a great friend of the then Lord Antrim, and the portrait here reproduced is believed to have been presented to Lord Antrim by Edmund as a gift. This was the fifth Earl, Alexander, who wasted his rents in gambling and dissipation. According to the late Louisa Lady Antrim, Edmund was his land agent, and enriched himself by the simple expedient of buying up choice bits of the Antrim property on highly favourable terms fixed by himself, sending the purchase price, such as it was, to his employer whenever he demanded more funds for his pleasures.³

From her account he seems to have been a most unattractive old man, reputed never to have cut his nails or his hair, hence his nickname "Beardy", though of course this could equally well have been derived from his property. She described his portrait at Glenarm as of an old man with astute eyes and forehead rising out of a forest of white hair and beard, shabbily dressed in the dark brown of a working man and exhibiting a hand with abnormally long fingernails.⁴

Edmund is said to have died at Beardiville in 1781⁵ at the age of 102, but according to the Index of Prerogative Wills, 1536-1810, the year of probate of his will was 1780, the will being dated 17th October, 1778. The will has not survived.

- ¹. Information from Captain Hugh Lecky.
- ². He usually spelt his name "Edmond". His father's was definitely "Edmund".
 - 3. "Recollections", by Louisa Lady Antrim.
 - 4 Thid
 - ⁵. "History of the Commoners", by Burke.



His elder son inherited Beardiville. He was a barrister-at-law, M.P. for County Antrim for nearly thirty years, and for fourteen years M.P. for Orford, Suffolk, High Sheriff for County Antrim in 1793 and a Lord of the Treasury 1818-1830.

That he was concerned at the dangerous state of the country is shown in the following letter to the Marquess of Downshire written in 1796¹:

1796. Nov. 26. Beardiville, near Coleraine.

I did myself the honour of informing your Lordship from Ballymena of the event of our County meeting. Your Lordship will see by the papers that the meeting is adjourned until the 14th of next month. What has been done may have a good effect, but I confess I do not think it will, but the contrary. It will of course make these traitors more circumspect, by which means they will be able to carry on their treason with greater effect and with less risk of punishment, but as to any lenient measures reforming them I confess I see no reason to hope for it. Several weeks ago I wrote to Mr. Pelham and told him that there were many obstacles in the way of proclaiming this County. Your Lordship will, I dare say, hear of some of a very extraordinary nature which arose at our last meeting. When you do hear of them I dare say they will astonish you, and at the same time convince you that the measure of proclaiming the County, and especially the Town of Belfast, is impracticable. If this dangerous spirit continues Government must have recourse to some other means to defeat it, for I am almost certain that they will look in vain to the provisions of the Insurrection Bill. As the town of Belfast has poisoned every County within the circuit of its commerce, I look upon it that all those Counties are as much interested in putting a stop to its villainy as the County of Antrim is, indeed it is an object

^{1.} Downshire Manuscripts. Public Record Office, Belfast.



of the greatest consequence to the whole kingdom. If therefore your Lordship thinks that with a certainty of being left us a very great minority, it would have a good effect to move at the next meeting that the town and neighbourhood of Belfast be proclaimed it shall be done. In that case Your Lordship will perhaps have the goodness to desire the attendance of any of the County of Down gentlemen who are magistrates for the County of Antrim.

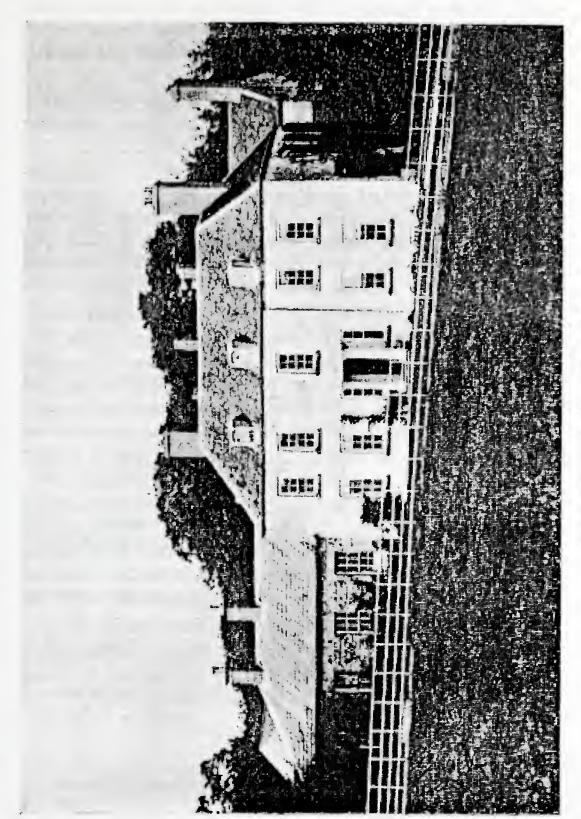
Edmond's private life was something of a mystery. He certainly had two sons to whom he referred in unflattering terms in a codicil to his will. This codicil, dated 15th January, 1827, states "I have not mentioned Charles or Robert in my will because the former has been appointed to a situation, that of Writer in the Civil Service of Ceylon, where if it is not his own fault he will make his fortune, and the latter has behaved in a manner so improper ever since he went to India that I am certain anything would have been thrown away on him".

What became of these two sons is unknown, but Robert was living in Coleraine in 1832, and Charles was apparently living in London some years later. (See page 103.)

A more interesting feature of his will was an annuity of £500 per annum and a legacy of £1000 "to my housekeeper, Mrs. Mary Anne Fitzsimmons, the mother of my reputed daughter Mary Anne McNaghten". Mary Anne McNaghten and her uncle, Francis, were left the residue of the estate between them.

There is reason to believe that Mrs. Fitzsimmons and Edmond McNaghten may have gone through some form of marriage ceremony, and that she was the mother of all three children. Some fifty years ago a half-sheet of paper was found among the effects of Dr. Robert Hannay in Belfast and is now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Robert Hannay, of Dallas, Texas. This paper turned out to be a fully attested declaration by the Rector of Ballintoy, Co. Antrim, the Rev. Robert Trail, dated 12th August, 1833, to the effect that Miss Fitzsimmons had shown him a letter from Edmond McNaghten "desiring her, the said Mary Anne Fitzsimmons, to provide a Clergyman for the





BEARDIVILLE IN 1910



purpose of her being married to him, the said Edmund Alexander McNaghten Esquire'. The statement continues: 'And I further make oath and declare that the period at which I was shown the said letter was anterior to the birth of either Charles Edmund McNaghten, or Robert Adair McNaghten, the reputed Sons of the said Edmund Alexander McNaghten Esquire'.

This declaration was made some eighteen months after Edmond's death. Mrs. Fitzsimmons' will is dated 24th March, 1851, and she described and signed herself "Mary Anne McNaghten". Her principal legatee was her grandson Arthur McNaghten, and her son-in-law James Hannay was appointed trustee "to invest this money in the funds and pay the dividends half yearly to Susan McNaghten for the sole use of my said grandson". Small bequests were also made to Arthur's two sisters, Laura Mary and Ellen McNaghten.

Mrs. Fitzsimmons is believed to have been the daughter of a local schoolmaster, and her name Mary McKinstry. At least, these are the recollections of a local inhabitant long since dead. As to her actual marriage it is traditionally said to have taken place in the dining room at Beardiville. It is probable that a ceremony did take place, but possibly at an illegal hour or without a licence.

Her daughter was certainly accepted by the Macnaghtens, and was received by the County as "Miss Macnaghten". She married in 1828 Captain James Hannay, of Ballylough, Bushmills, and had eight children. One grandson was Canon J. O. Hannay, the celebrated novelist "George A. Birmingham", who died aged 84 in February 1950.

As has already been stated (page 56) Edmond agreed in 1818 to the demand—which his father had refused—that his name should be put forward as chief of the Clan. On his death these honours were confirmed on his brother, Francis, by the Lord Lyon, King of Arms.

^{1.} Burke's "Family Records", p. 295.



In claiming the chieftainship as heir to his brother, Francis stated that his brother, Edmond, had died unmarried.¹ Possibly, according to the letter of the law, this may have been so, but it is recorded that Francis Macnaghten was always extremely kind to his niece, Mary Anne, and treated her entirely as one of the family.

1. Correspondence in Register House, Edinburgh.



CHAPTER XII

The Dunkins and Blackers

THE name Dunkin is generally thought to have evolved from the Scottish name Duncan, but recent research shows that there was a Robert Dunkin, Alderman of Penzance in 1614. There were a number of prominent families in Devon and Cornwall who participated in the Plantation of Ulster, for instance the Chichesters, Langfords, and Uptons, and they doubtless brought their henchmen with them.

The seventeenth-century Dunkins and more particularly those of the eighteenth century were numerous in the north of Ireland, and a number were connected with the Church and the law. There was a Roscarrock Dunkin who died about 1714, having been a K.C. and for a short time a member of the Irish House of Commons. His mother was a Roscarrock of Roscarrock, a family of great antiquity in Cornwall.

A John Dunkin married Rebecca, daughter of William Wray, and widow of William Babington. There were two sons by this marriage, the elder dying in 1778 leaving a large family.

The Rev. Patrick Dunkin of Lisnashea, County Fermanagh, was ancestor of another branch. His grandson, William, born circa 1709, figures in D.N.B. Yet another was the Rev. Patrick Dunkin who died in 1680, leaving issue. So far it has not been possible to discover the links which undoubtedly existed between these and other Dunkin families, nor to prove their connexion with our own ancestors, the Dunkins of Bushfoot.

Sir William Dunkin was the eldest son of John Dunkin of Bushfoot. His mother is believed to have been Elizabeth Strawbridge, heiress of Bushfoot, but the Strawbridge marriage may have occurred in an earlier generation, as John Dunkin's wife is referred to as Rachael in a Deed dated 1764 whereby she and her

¹. Visitations of Cornwall, 1620.



husband made a settlement of the lands of Clogher, in the Parish of Billy, Co. Antrim.¹ Rachael, of course, may have been his second wife.

The Strawbridges or Strobridges were an old Devon family. The earliest reference in Ireland that I have found is to John Strawbridge, Dublin, 1582.² Hugh Strowbridge, Gent. "served in the place of Gentleman Ussher to divers governours of this Kingdome and lastlie to Robert Erle of Essex. He deceased in October, 1599, and is buried in the body of Christ Church, Dublin".³

In 1628 Robert Strawbridge, of age and married, is mentioned as son and heir of Robert Strabridge who died on 15th August, 1628. Thirty acres of land in Tobbercapper and one tenement in Dunluce had been leased to him on 20th April, 1614, by Randal Macdonnell, afterwards 1st Earl of Antrim. In 1669 "Robert Strabridge of Lisinduffe" figures in the County Antrim H.M. Rolls. In 1720 Daniel Strawbridge had a lease from Lord Antrim of the salmon fishing in the river Bush, just as in 1688 Robert and Daniel Strawbridge had had a lease of 40 acres at Lisanduff.

Bushfoot, in the townland of Lisanduff, evidently came to the Dunkins through the Strawbridges. In 1737 Lord Antrim gave a lease for 41 years at a rent of £50 of the Bush Fishery to John Dunkin and Elizabeth Strawbridge. In 1739 John Dunkin took a Fee Farm Grant by Deed of the lands of Kilcubbin which marched with the Bushfoot property, and in 1758 his son William demised it to Henry Dunkin.⁵ In 1751 John Dunkin was High Sheriff. The following year he was visited by the celebrated

^{1.} Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

². Calendar of Dublin Wills.

^{3.} Funeral Entry.

⁴. Inquisition Co. Antrim. Taken at Carrickfergus, 18th March, 1635.

⁵. Registry of Deeds. 1763.



Bishop Pococke who left an interesting account of his visit in his "Tour in Ireland" from which the following is quoted:

On 7th (July) I rid to the Giant's Causeway . . . and in the even of my return waited on Mr. Duncane who lives in the way, with a letter I had to him and came home. On the 8th I went to the Causeway late, and Mr. Duncane came and dined with me, and sent a fresh salmon which was roasted before a turf fire. It was cut in pieces and stuck on five or six sticks set in the ground round the fire and sometimes taken up and turnid. He left Mr. Broomhall with me, his children's tutor, and I came with him to his house, drank tea and came home.

In 1753 John acquired leases of lands—moss and turf bog—adjoining the highway from Bushmills to Coleraine, by Beardiville, and in the south part of West Priestland.¹ In 1758² he granted an annuity of £20 to William Dunkin, of Dublin, doubtless his son who was admitted Counsel to the Barrack Board in that year.³ In 1764 John Dunkin purchased the lands of Lisanduff⁴ and in 1767, their father presumably being dead, William Dunkin and Henry Dunkin, both described as of Dublin, mortgaged the lands of Bushfoot *alias* Lisanduff for £1630.⁵

In 1768 William Dunkin, of Dublin, demised the lands of Clogher, Co. Antrim, to James Stewart, of Corkey, Co. Antrim, and in the same year William and Henry Dunkin mortgaged the lands of Clogher, Co. Antrim, to Edward Cary for £900.6

Nothing more is known about Henry Dunkin. A third brother, David Dunkin, was Curate of Dunluce in 1787. He was a

- ¹. Registry of Deeds, Dublin.
- ². Ibid.
- 3. Dublin Directory, 1780.
- ⁴. Registry of Deeds.
- ⁵. Ibid.
- ⁶. Registry of Deeds.
- ⁷. "History of Dunluce Parish", by Hugh A. Boyd, Coleraine, 1937.



B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin, which he had entered on 10th May, 1769, aged 16. He is mentioned in a lease as head landlord of the farm of Ballytaylor in the Parish of Billy, Barony of Carey. He was Curate of Billy in 1803, and from 1788-1836 Treasurer of Connor, during which time he was Rector of Agherton and Ardelinis (Carnlough). He died aged 83 on 27th July, 1836, and was buried in the graveyard of the Church of St. Cuthbert, Dunluce.

Of William Dunkin's early career we have the bare outlines. He was educated at the Middle Temple and called to the Irish Bar in 1758. He was High Sheriff of County Antrim in 1777.

In 1783 we find him practising at the bar of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. This move to India was, according to William Hickey, necessitated by his having encumbered his estate, worth about £1500 a year when he inherited it. In Calcutta he kept house with a young Irish barrister, "and a very hospitable one it was".

He seems to have stayed in Calcutta till 1788 when he began to talk of returning to England for the purpose of trying to obtain a seat upon the Calcutta bench. In December he took his passage to Europe on board the *Phoenix*.

It seems that his visit to England was a brief and abortive one. In 1790 Hickey mentions his name as leading counsel in a suit at Calcutta, but records in the same year "I had the pleasure to receive a letter from William Dunkin written during his stay at St. Helena, at which island he was in perfect health".

At any rate he was in England in 1791 when he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and was made a knight bachelor on 18th March that year at St. James's, "on presentation of an address upon the agreeable prospect of a continuance of an established peace by the Convention with Spain".

It is thanks to the fourth volume of William Hickey's memoirs that for a brief period Sir William becomes really alive for us. In March 1791 Hickey received Sir William's letter informing

^{1. &}quot;The Wrays of Donegal", p. 285, by Charlotte V. Trench.





SIR WILLIAM DUNKIN



him of his appointment and blaming the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, "from being adverse to his appointment" for having, "most unhandsomely and unwarrantably delayed fixing the Great Seal to his Patent".

William Dunkin had married in August 1764 Elizabeth Blacker, eldest daughter of William Blacker of Carrickblacker, Co. Armagh, and had by her seven children. His wife presumably disliked travel or was separated from her husband for reasons of economy, as there is no reference to her in Hickey's memoirs. He arrived at Calcutta on 14th August accompanied by his daughter, Rachael, and his son, Edward, having made the voyage in the ship *Phoenix*. Father and son stayed with Hickey for three weeks (Rachael stayed with Mrs. Hay, wife of the Chief Secretary) and then "took possession of an excellent house he had hired, which he soon afterwards purchased. situate in the rear of the theatre, in an airy, open situation. the very day he entered it his daughter (Letitia) and son-in-law (Francis Macnaghten) with their children arrived". Rachael Dunkin was "equal in sweetness of temper to her sister". Edward "a mild and affectionate lad about the age of 17 who early became much attached to me. He was in a very infirm state of health, being subject to dreadful epileptic fits. The physicians had recommended the effect of a hot climate, which had induced his father to get him appointed a cadet and take him out to India.

"The experiment unfortunately did not answer; on the contrary the fits attacked him more frequently and impaired his intellect, so that in the course of a twelvemonth he was reduced almost to idiotism, in which melancholy state he returned to Europe where he lingered a few years and then died". Poor Edward Dunkin. He returned to England in 1793 "in the *Dutton*; after lingering a few years he died miserably reduced, being little more than a skeleton."

Hickey tells us something of the Dunkin menage and of Sir William's gay youth. "Never was there a family which lived together in more complete harmony... If Sir William had a fault it was that of being too fond of the pleasures of the



table, which was to be accounted for from early habit and having resided the greater part of his life in the country part of Ireland, in the society of men who were all hard drinkers... This disposition of conviviality in the Judge cost me many a headache from a proneness I had to follow his example in drinking too much."

"In the Autumn of 1791 Sir William hired Mr. William Burke's Garden House, where his family resided entirely, Sir William going to town every morning."

A certain Mr. William Morris wished to practise as an Advocate in Calcutta, but "unfortunately for him it happened that Sir William Dunkin, in his days of gaiety, had more than once encountered him in situations highly disreputable", which ruined any chances Mr. Morris may have had in Calcutta.

In April 1792 Rachael Dunkin married Hickey's friend, George Elliot, "in every respect a most desirable match". Hickey was, of course, present at the wedding and at "the splendid dinner given afterwards by her father". The young couple only knew a few months happiness, as in August, much against their will, they accompanied Sir William and a party which included Letitia and Francis Macnaghten on a river excursion. Hickey saw the party off. "While conducting Mrs. Elliot to the carriage, she, with much earnestness, pressed my hand, the tears gushing from her eyes, and said, 'would to God, my dear Hickey, we could do as you have done; decline being of this party: neither my darling George nor myself like the thought of it, but know not how to refuse complying with the wishes of my dear father.' "Before the end of August George Elliot had died from the effects of lightning striking the bungalow which housed the party. The others were uninjured.

In January 1796 Rachael Elliot "left for England on board the Lady Meadowes, Captain Lloyd, taking with her her sister's two eldest children".

At the beginning of 1798 another member of the family arrived. This was John Dunkin, brother of Letitia Macnaghten, who came from the Cape. "He was Captain of 8th Light Dragoons, and had received leave of absence to visit his father



and sister for several months." About this time the number of Judges at the Supreme Court was reduced from four to three, and Sir William was not among the remaining three. "He was, however, given permission to remain as long as he thought proper, with the hint that this should not be for more than a year. He determined to leave by the first regular Indiaman, having saved enough to live the rest of his life in ease and comfort, and having had letters from home assuring him that he would certainly be entitled to receive the pension of a retiring Judge." In January 1799 Sir William Dunkin embarked.

According to what in 1935 was the Records Department of the India Office, William Dunkin had been permitted by the East India Company to proceed to Bengal to practise as a Barrister in the Supreme Court there in 1781. His appointment by the Crown as a Puisne Judge, the first judge to be appointed from the Local Bar, took place in 1791, and he assumed office on 3rd September. The statement from the same source that he resigned on 1st August, 1797, does not tally with Hickey's account. The pension, however, materialized, and took effect from the 1st August, 1799, at the rate of £1500 a year.

Sir William enjoyed his pension for a few years, and died at the Polygon, Southampton, on 7th April, 1807. His widow died in Portland Place in March 1822.

Of Sir William's family the details given by Hickey can be supplemented by information from the office of Ulster King of Arms (now abolished) and from Notes and Queries for 1927. The latter gives his sons as follows:

- 1. William "who married his cook maid".
- 2. John Henry, Matric. Trinity College, Dublin, 5th July, 1793, age 15. Lieut.-Colonel in 77th Regt. in 1815.

Edward, the epileptic, is omitted, but Ulster King of Arms records him as being in the Bengal Artillery 1790-92, and born circa 1774.

Of his daughters, Letitia (named after her maternal grand-mother) married Francis Macnaghten on 6th December, 1787.



She was 83 when she died in 1852, so was born in 1769. She was the eldest daughter.

Rachael, who married the unfortunate Mr. Elliot, "brother of Elliot the brewer of Pimlico", married, secondly, 1st August, 1808, Colonel John Bladow Taylor, I.C.S., and had one daughter.

Matilda, according to Ulster King of Arms the second daughter, married 19th May, 1802, Valentine Conolly, Surgeon at Madras, and had issue.

3

Jane, the third daughter, according to the same source, married 17th November, 1798, Rev. William Richard Wake, second son of Sir William Wake, 8th Baronet, and had six children, none of whom appear to have left descendants.

Of the subsequent history of Sir William's sons nothing is known except that they are traditionally said to have been "wastrels". Some forty years ago a family of Dunkins living near Canterbury received a letter from a firm of solicitors in Calcutta stating "if you are related to Mr. William Dunkin (grandson of General Joseph O'Hallaron and of Sir William Dunkin of the Calcutta High Court) and will apply to Messrs. P. S. D. Rozario & Co., 12, Waterloo Street, Calcutta, you may hear something to your advantage".

"Mr. William Dunkin was believed to be a nephew of Lady Workman Macnaughton (sic) and was in London as a child about the year 1833 or 1834."

Was he perhaps a son of Lieut.-Colonel John Dunkin, or of William Dunkin? General O'Hallaron's daughter is hardly likely to have been a "cook maid". Possibly William found consolation with his cook after the General's daughter had died.

The Canterbury Dunkins could not prove the necessary connexion with the family in question, so received no reward. Is there a fortune waiting to be claimed by Sir William's descendants? I doubt it.

The Dunkin property in County Antrim is said to have been acquired by Francis Macnaghten from his two brothers-in-law for a small price. Whatever were the facts the property certainly

^{1.} Notes and Queries.



came to him. Sir William Dunkin is generally referred to as "of Clogher", Clogher being the name of the townland in which Bushmills is situated. The Dunkins' house was known as Clogher or Bushmills House, and stood somewhere in the woods above the present Dundarave where there is now a walled kitchen garden. Between 1810 and 1816 the house was rented by the Wray family, but whether the property then belonged to the Dunkins or to Francis Macnaghten is uncertain.

If family tradition is to be believed Francis Macnaghten rebuilt the original house, but his house in turn was demolished on his death some fifteen years later by his son, and the present house—Dundarave—was built by Sir Edmund Macnaghten. The small etching of Bushmills House shown in this book is believed to represent the house which Sir Francis built.

There are at least two portraits of Sir William Dunkin, one at Dundarave in his judge's robes, and a small one in oils in the possession of the author which is illustrated here. There is also a portrait of Lady Dunkin at Dundarave.

Elizabeth Blacker who married Sir William Dunkin was the eldest daughter of William Blacker, of Carrickblacker (1709-1782) and of Letitia, daughter of Henry Cary, M.P., of Dungiven Castle. The Blackers are stated to be of Scandinavian origin, and an interesting book, *Blacker of Carrickblacker*, by a member of that family, contains a well documented pedigree. That in Burke's *Landed Gentry* is in parts inaccurate.

Through her father's family Elizabeth Blacker was descended from the Castlestewarts, and so from the Scottish Royal line and from Robert Bruce. The Carys were descended from the Lathoms, Mervyns and Beresfords, and, more remotely, from the Courtenays of Devon. Elizabeth had a large number of brothers and sisters, but for the most part the kinship of their descendants with the Macnaghtens has been forgotten. One sister, Alicia, married Sir James Steuart, son of the economist and Jacobite. He was godfather to Francis Macnaghten's youngest son, Steuart, the author of the *Genealogy of the*

^{1. &}quot;The Wrays of Donegal", p. 311-312.



Macnaghtens, and it was this relationship that introduced his surname as a christian name into the family. Sir James Steuart was, in his day, the oldest general in the British Army, and died without issue in 1839 at Cheltenham, aged 95.

Before their marriages Elizabeth and Alicia were known as "the beautiful Miss Blackers". The latter was painted by Raeburn, and the portrait, "Lady Alicia Steuart, of Coltness", was shown in 1910 at the 7th Annual Exhibition for the Artists' General Benevolent Fund. There is a lithograph by Dighton of Sir James Steuart in the museum at Cheltenham.





TRANCIS MACNAGHTEN



LETITIA MACNAGHIEN



CHAPTER XIII

Francis Macnaghten

Of Francis's early life we know very little. Under his father's will be succeeded to an estate in the barony of Glencarm, Co. Antrim, and to a property in the town of Coleraine. On 6th December, 1787, he married Letitia Dunkin, and in 1788 he became a barrister-at-law.

It was probably on the advice of his father-in-law that he went out to India, and, as in the case of Sir William Dunkin, Hickey gives us an excellent sketch of his character and life in India.

In August 1791 Francis and his young family arrived in Calcutta, having sailed from England in the Lord Camden. Hickey mentioned two children, presumably Edmund and Anne. If Burke is to be believed, the third child, Eliza Serena, was born on the voyage. The young couple earned high praise from Hickey. "Mrs. Macnaghten was gentleness personified, and altogether one of the most delightful women I ever knew. Her husband was a fine high-spirited honourable young man; by nature of a violent temper, but he possessed sufficient resolution, not only to curb, but in a great measure to correct the infirmity, rarely allowing any person, unless such intimates as myself, to see him impetuous or irascible."

Soon after their arrival occurred the memorable dinner party at Sir William Dunkin's, when the disagreeable Mr. Charles Johnston, a contemporary at the Temple of Sir William's, taxed Francis with the existence of his ill-fated relative, John.

Dinner had proceeded smoothly enough, and the company had been regaled with a number of ill-natured stories from Johnston about Sir William's friends. Sir William guessed what was coming, and took the opportunity to warn Francis while Johnston was out of the room. "My dear Frank," he observed, "not-withstanding that old slanderer has affected to pay you so much

^{1.} Burke's "History of the Commoners", p. 309.



attention, I know him so well that I have no doubt before he finally quits the room tonight he will take an opportunity of reminding you, directly or indirectly, of your unfortunate Uncle John."*

Mr. James Dunkin, a relative of Sir William's who was present at the dinner, protested that Johnston could not possibly be so inconsiderate, and Sir William offered to back his opinion with a wager.

"Just at that moment Johnston returned, and had scarcely resumed his seat at the table, when, turning to Mr. Macnaghten, he in a very loud voice addressed him, saying: 'Pray, my good young gentleman, may I be permitted to ask whether you are in any manner related to a very worthy and respected friend of mine, John Macnaghten, who unhappily suffered many years since in Ireland for murdering a girl with whom he was in love?'

"A general and loud burst of indignation took place at the moment this indelicate question was thus abruptly put. Mr. James Dunkin in particular seemed thunderstruck, and clapping his hands violently together he screeched out, 'Oh, Jesus! I could not have believed this possible.'

On this occasion Francis did not lose his temper, and "with the utmost coolness, though attended by a marked contempt in his manner, and looking Johnston steadfastly in the face, answered his interrogatory thus: 'Yes, Mr. Johnston. I am, as you very well knew when you put the question, nephew to that unfortunate John Macnaghten'".

This calm reply proved too much for Johnston, who "stammered out an awkward sort of apology, rose from the table, slunk out of the room, and never afterwards entered Sir William's doors".

Two years later Francis furnished his friends with "an unanswerable proof of his violence and impetuosity". He had for several days been "sadly tormented by toothache, which at last induced him to send to a surgeon to come to him and draw it,

^{*} John, of course, was his first cousin, but had been executed before Francis Macnaghten's hirth.



but the surgeon happening to be absent when the messenger reached his house, Mr. Macnaghten in a paroxysm of rage swore he would extract it himself or drive it down his throat. He took up a large carving knife and with the point thereof dreadfully lacerated and hacked his gums, after which he attempted with the handle of the knife to beat out the offending tooth, in doing which he materially injured his lower jaw, producing a severe and dangerous inflammation; for four months he had three surgeons attending him. Large splinters of bone worked daily through the wound. He ultimately recovered, leaving an immense scar on the outside of his neck which might lead people to suppose that he had been afflicted with the King's Evil'.

At the end of 1796 Francis was nominated High Sheriff of Calcutta by his father-in-law, and a year later he championed him in a furious row with Mr. Burroughs, the Advocate-General, for what he considered his impertinence and contempt of manner towards Sir William. Mr. Burroughs apologized abjectly, but Francis would only allow the incident to close after warning him that a repetition of similar conduct would "neither pass unnoticed nor unpunished".*

The Macnaghtens stayed on in Calcutta after Sir William's departure, but in 1803 Francis began 'to talk of taking his family back to Ireland, there to settle for the remainder of his life". He was confirmed in this decision in June when, as a result of certain rearrangements of duties among the personnel of the Supreme Court of Judicature, he lost the appointment of the Office of Company's Standing Counsel. In December his plans were made, and a passage to England engaged on board the Charlton for the growing family. The two eldest children had gone back in 1796 with Mrs. Elliot, but there were eight more in 1803. The last fortnight of their stay was spent as Hickey's guests. On the day of their departure Hickey drove out of town in order to avoid the ceremony of leave-taking, which

^{*} Another example of his temper is the tradition of his having challenged the Bishop of Calcutta to a duel, but I have not been able to place this incident.



he always found unpleasant. Francis commended this in an affectionate note, but his wife was much distressed at missing a parting embrace. With him Francis took one thousand pounds of Hickey's savings to invest in England on his behalf.

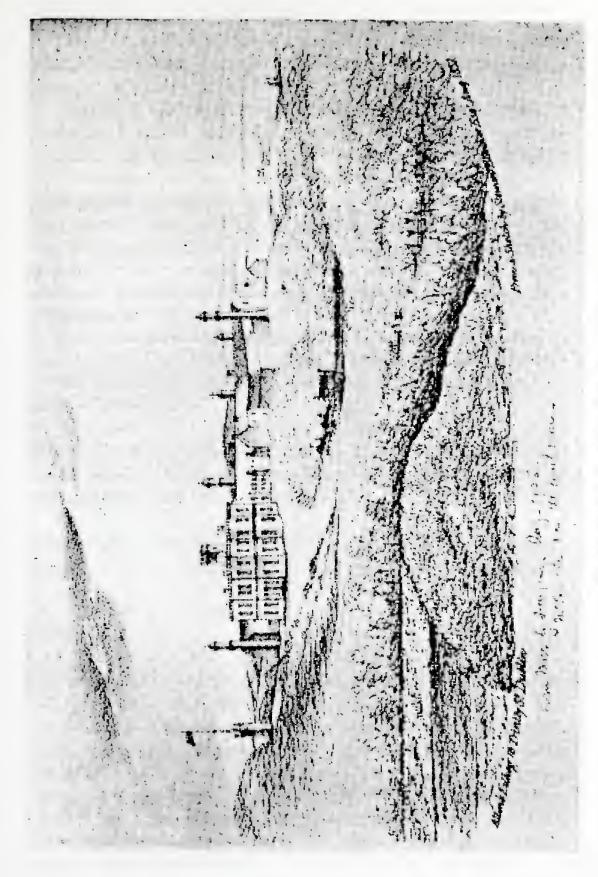
Hickey's final reference to the family was in 1806 when he heard that Francis's old antagonist, Mr. Burroughs, had succeeded in getting a seat on the Bench as a Puisne Judge, in opposition to Francis, who had had high hopes of filling the post.

In 1807 the latter followed the family custom by becoming High Sheriff for Co. Antrim.

According to Hickey, Francis Macnaghten left India in 1803 intending never to return, but to settle on his small property in Ireland. Ambition and the need to provide for an increasingly large family probably induced him to alter his plans. listed in the records of the Calcutta Bar Library Club as Advocate-General 1806-9, I presume in succession to Mr. Burroughs, but it seems unlikely that he ever took up this appointment, or at any rate held it for long. He left an account (now at Dundarave) of the years 1807-1809 during which period he negotiated for a particular appointment—a judgeship of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras. He had a hard struggle to obtain it, and refused another post, the Recordership of Prince Edward Island at a salary of £2400 a year. He was knighted upon his appointment, and on Tuesday, 11th December, 1809, he "crossed the line" in the Bucephalus, a 32-gun frigate, and took part in all the traditional ceremonies. The account of his struggle for his appointment was apparently written on board ship "to express for my own use the facts and my feelings. Then should they fall into other hands, I trust they will be treated accordingly".

In 1809, before leaving for India and probably on the occasion of his knighthood, he matriculated his arms. These were shown within a bordure erminois, the "undifferenced" arms only being granted in 1818 to his brother when recognized as the chief. In the patent Francis is described as of "Upper Clogher". Whether he had already purchased the Clogher estates from his Dunkin brothers-in-law or whether he had other property in this neighbourhood is not clear.





BUSHMILLS HOUSE IN 1837



The appointment at Madras lasted until 1815, when he was transferred to the Supreme Court of Bengal at Calcutta, a position which he held until his retirement in 1825.

There is a full-length portrait of him in the Court House of Calcutta. He had been left the only judge to discharge all the duties of the Court: and on 22nd November, 1822, the grand jury delivered to him a very complimentary address, in which they desired to possess his portrait. It was accordingly painted by Chinnery, who received one thousand guineas for the picture. On his departure from Calcutta in 1825, "Sir Francis had the gratification of receiving the kindest compliments and addresses from all descriptions of persons, Europeans and Natives, then inhabiting the Presidency".1-*

Two years previously he had inherited the estate of Mahan in Co. Armagh from his cousin, Caroline Workman. A condition of the inheritance was that he should assume the surname and arms of Workman.

Sir Francis also owned Roe Park, Limavady, in Cō. London-derry, which he acquired by purchase, and in 1832, on the death of his brother, Edmond, he succeeded to Beardiville, which was entailed upon him by his father's will.²

Beardiville passed to the Leckys in 1845, and in 1884 a Deed of Exchange was executed between the father of the present owner. Captain Hugh Lecky, and Sir Francis Macnaghten,

- 1. History of the Commoners.
- 2. Ibid.

Typical of these was the address from the principal Mohammedans which stated: "The integrity, wisdom and firmness which you have displayed in dispensing those (Mohammedan) laws in the spirit of British jurisprudence taught us to estimate aright the distinguished privileges we enjoy of being under the Crown of England". The Mohammedans craved leave to place this gem of prayer upon his head: "So long as the heavens shall continue to revolve, may the Almighty plunge your enemies into the Abyss of adversity, and may he exalt your friends and well wishers to the pinnacle of prosperity".



THE CINEFS OF CLAN MACNACHTAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

3rd Bart., of perpetuity rents in the townslands of Kilcoobin,

Clogher South and Castlenagree for Beardiville House and

demesne.1

To revert to Sir Francis, he was created a baronet on 16th July, 1836. This it is said was due to the influence of his eldest son. Before he died he lived to see his numerous family set in their careers, married and otherwise provided for. He survived by two years the tragedy of his second son's murder at Cabul.

There must be numerous letters of his still extant which it has not been my good fortune to find, but the following to his son, Steuart, seems to be characteristic of his decisive opinions and

trenchant comments.

My DEAR STEUART,

I do not apologise for my silence because I am sure you know I would have written to you if I had had anything to say-I now have something. Touching your letter of the 10th you tell me you were going to hear an appeal (an appeal qu case?) argued and you add "if on my return from the Temple I should hear anything worth adding I shall do so hereafter". This I believe you will admit is not English of the right breed and I mention it because as it proceeded from negligence I wish to point out the necessity of attention to your compositions. Be attentive to what you write and in time correctness will become habitual . . . As to Charles, I know not what to say-Edmund's recommendation was such as he represented to you to be, but what does it come to? No more than we know by dear bought experience. to be informed of the process by which the unhappy fellow can be most effectually provided for (and myself relieved from the burden of him) upon the easiest terms. Edmund is perfectly right in keeping the chap at a distance for if he once got a footing in Harley Street he would become immoveable and certainly prove no very

^{1.} Information from Captain Hugh Lecky.



great acquisition as a visitor. The Ghent plan appears to be the most feasible but how can I judge of what is best to be done without a knowledge of what he may be able to obtain for the purpose of eking out £30 a year into a subsistence? I cannot give him more—indeed. everything considered, that is "much too much" to expect from me. Giving it I will insist upon not being liable to farther, or any contingent charges. It is hard enough to be saddled with £30 a year for such a rider. You had some small bills to discharge from me and when I gave you a credit for £100 on Coutts's I wished you to be something in pocket and knew you would be annoyed by the importunities of Charles. After supplying him with all he ought to receive you will have something over which I intend to be applied to your own use. I do not say I am unwilling to come down with the dust for value receired, but I will not go beyond the disbursement of £30 a year unless as the price of indomnity against all future demands. I think he ought to be distinctly told that I will give this sum and no more, that I feel the hardship and inconvenience of giving so much and that I will not give one shilling (unless for the purpose of buying up his future expectations) in addition to it. If I gave more to clothe him when ragged, I must feed him at an indefinite cost in addition to his annuitr. The thing must be placed upon a certain and fixed footing and I wish you would come to an adjustment of accounts, and settle him upon his £30 a year from thenceforth. I would not wish to act harshly but my case would be deplorable if I were denied the satisfaction of knowing to what extent I may be called upon for his relief. If he cannot exist upon £30 a year I do not understand why I should be encumbered with the payment of it. I would rather stop payment at once than proceed for the purpose of establishing his claims to more. He must do something for himself or be contented to live upon £30 a year. It is a wretched pittance I admit, yet if not enough for him to receive, it



is too much for me to give away. It would be useless as well as cruel to reproach him having been the author of his own distresses. I know I am rambling *about* the subject —its fault not yours or mine. Your next interview may produce something approaching to certainty as to the poor fellow's wants and wishes.

The Times did not arrive vesterday. I believe however they postpone a transmission of odd newspapers if the bags are full. I hope you will have a good deal of the £100 to your own behoof. In this perverse, preposterous world men with some money in their pockets may be more economical than those who have none. Dunlop, Bookseller of Coleraine, told me he had got some of my Books (he did not say how many) from London and sold them all. The people here say they cannot get one upon any terms. I have given away four or five, but it may be better for my fame that they should remain in obscurity. If out of sight those who have heard of such a book may deem with "more mysterious reverence" of its contents. Now for the best part of my letter. Last night brought me one from Elliot and this encloses my check upon Coutts in your favour for £100. Elliot had advanced coin in India-value £100 to Rowley Hill. Rowley wrote to his mother (Mrs. Steel) to pay it (as I believe) to me. She paid it into the Bank of Coleraine to my account. I wrote to Elliot that she had done so and that there the money lay obedient to his order. now writes: "I may as well dispose of Rowley Hill's £100 (for which I have given said Rowley full value) which you tell me is lodged in the Coleraine Bank on my account. I wish you then in my name to present the same to Stenart. He will find it useful and it may perhaps assist him in the formation of his law library". Here you have it. Elliot's squintifago is coming by Chapman consigned to Mrs. Chester. He talks of embarking a capital Arab for me in January on a Liverpool Ship. As I now feel I would rather decline acceptance of the Nag.





Sir Francis Werkman Macnaghten Bark



but this he is not to know. The amount of his freight could buy a well blooded horse for me in England and he might be a greater acquisition to this Country. I am tired of horse breeding—greatly, inconveniently and (illegible) stocked. Elliot has been luckily dabbling in Indigo and wisely getting clear of the concern. He bagged he says 3 or 4000£ and he was right in giving up the sport. Indeed it would have been no sport to him if he had gone on. His letter is dated in November. Ever my dear Steuart affectionately yours FWM.

BUSHMHUS HOUSE, Friday, 21st April, 1837.

I have written a "Runymede" upon our proposed poor law Bill. It will probably be in tomorrow's *Chronicle*.

This letter is addressed to: 5 Albemarle Street.

Sir Francis's views on the question of Catholic Emancipation were clear sighted and humane, and were expressed in a lengthy memorandum to the Duke of Wellington written in the year that the Bill on the Catholic Question was introduced into Parliament. "I have always thought", he wrote, "that, in liberality, in policy, or in justice, the Roman Catholics ought to be emancipated", and he added "I am not one of those who believe that the Catholics do, or ever did, meditate insurrection—nor one of those who believe they could possibly succeed if they were insane enough to make such an attempt."

Sir Francis died on 22nd November, 1843, and he was buried in the churchyard of the Parish Church of Dunluce,² built in 1842 when the old church, adjacent to Dunluce Castle, was abandoned. His grave is very large and is surrounded by high

^{1. &}quot;A View of the Catholic Question as it Relates to Ireland", 1829.

^{2.} Parish Register, Dunluce Church.



iron railings. By his own request it is marked neither by stone nor inscription. This singular isolation of his grave gave rise to an undeserved tradition that none of the villagers would be buried near him for fear of meeting him at the Day of Judgment.

His widow survived him by nearly ten years. She died on 13th November, 1852, at 2 Portman Square, London, W., aged 83.1 Under her will, dated 17th March, 1852, at 26 Upper Grosvenor Street, London, W., she appointed her youngest son, Steuart, as her executor.

- 1. Burial Certificate, Parish of St. Marylebone.
- ². Somerset House.





SIR WILLIAM HAY MACNAGHTEN, BART.



CHAPTER XIV

Sir Francis Macnaghten's Sons

BEFORE concluding this book I must add two meven chapters about the following generations, uneven because we know so much about some of the family and so little about others. Older members who are alive today will remember some of their great-uncles and aunts, but for many of us the nineteenth century in which they lived, separated from the present by two cataclysmic wars, is almost as remote as the eighteenth century.

Francis and Letitia Macnaghten bad seventeen children, of whom only one died in infancy. The last of the family, Stenart, was born when his mother was forty-four years old. Most of the daughters married, but of their actual lives I know very little. All were reputed good-looking, and Maria Thellusson the most beautiful of them all. As dutiful Victorian wives they remained quietly in the background (though Alicia Probyn's daughter-in-law faced the horrors of the Indian Mutiny). With the possible exception of John all six sons married, and it is from four of them that the twentieth-century Macnaghtens descend. In all, Francis and Letitia had over seventy grandchildren.

SIR EDMUND CHARLES MACNAGHIEN

Happily married and the father of a large family, Edmund enjoyed both inherited wealth and a fortune of his own making. Educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Dublin, he was called to the Bar, and soon found his father's influential position of great value to him. He was appointed, not long after he came of age, to the lucrative post of Registrar of the Supreme Court at Calcutta.

The fees pertaining to this post were so large that during his first year's tenure they are said to have exceeded the salary of

¹. "Personal Adventures During the Indian Rebellion", by William Edwards, 1858.



THE CHIFFS OF CLAN MACNACHIAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

the Governor-General. Little wonder that he could afford after a few years to leave India behind him.

His journey home in 1824 cannot have been without adventure, as he chose to travel overland from Calcutta to a Black Sea port, only to find on arrival that the merchants with whom he had arranged credits for his onward journey had become bankrupt. Fortunately for him the local Turkish governor forced the other merchants in the port to make good his losses.

Three years later he married, and after his father's death he set about the demolition of Bushmills House, building in its stead the house which is known to this day as Dandarave.

Edmund was M.P. for County Antrim from 1847 to 1852, but through dislike of Disraeli resigned when the latter became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a good landlord, and made many improvements to his estates.

SIR WILLIAM HAY MACNAGHTEN

William Macnaghten shares with the unfortunate John the distinction of appearing in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Educated at Charterhouse, he went to India in 1809 after receiving a cadetship in the service of the East India Company. For some time he served in the bodyguard of the Governor of Madras, and he soon gained a considerable reputation as a remarkable linguist and as an expert in Hindu and Mohammedan law. At the age of 30 he married. His wife was already a widow, and after his death she married into the Peerage. Whatever her charms good breeding was not among them, and she is remembered for the remark that she had ''married 'igher and 'igher and 'igher and 'igher and 'igher".

William's political career began in 1830, and for some years he was in charge of the secret and political departments of the Government Secretariat at Calentta. It was in 1837 that he became associated with the policy which ultimately led to his death. In that year he accompanied Lord Aukland on a tour of the North-West Provinces, and became one of his most trusted advisers. He was largely responsible for the policy of deposing



the Afghan chief, Dost Mahomed, and of restoring Shah Soojahool-Moolk to the throne of Cabul. The following year he was appointed envoy and minister to Shah Soojah, and had to face the dual problem of keeping a puppet prince on the throne by force of British arms and at the same time of investing him with the appearance of independence.

The following years saw the escape from prison of the former usurper, Dost Mahomed, followed by a popular uprising in his support. British arms prevailed, and he surrendered in November 1841. William had meanwhile been created a baronet and appointed a provisional member of the Council of India. In September 1841 he was made Governor of Bombay, and he planned to leave Cabul and take up his post in November. Preparations for his departure were put in hand. His wife was packing her innumerable trunks in happy anticipation of social triumphs to come.

The defeat of Dost Mahomed, however, was followed by the proposal to withdraw all British troops from Afghanistan, and William was bitterly opposed to this policy. The riots which broke out in Cabul that November could have been quelled by prompt action on the part of the British commander, General Elphinstone, but through his ineptness they were allowed to develop into a national uprising, and the British forces found themselves disorganized and short of provisions.

By December 1841 the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that further resistance by the British was deemed impossible by General Elphinstone and his staff. William accordingly met the rebel chiefs to arrange for the humiliating evacuation of the British from Afghanistan. He seems at first to have shown unwarranted confidence in the agreed terms and in the good faith of the rebels, though from the outset they violated their obligations and increased their demands.

So the month drew on. Worn out with fatigue and anxiety, soon convinced of the faithlessness of the chiefs and driven to resort to almost any expedient, William listened to overtures from Dost Mahomed's son, Akbar Khan, which were themselves a trap. Though inconsistent with his obligations to the rebel



chiefs, William agreed to Akbar's terms, and as a token of goodwill sent him a handsome pair of pistols. (The pistols are still in existence. William's A.D.C. escaped with them after the murder, and they have descended to Mrs. T. L. Hughes, daughter of Major-General Sir William George Lawrence Beynon.)

December 23rd was the fatal day. William had played into the hands of Akbar Khan who had secretly agreed with the rebel chiefs to take him prisoner. An interview was arranged on the Seeah Sung plain, near Cabul, which William attended with three officers. Though fully aware of his danger he had refused any other escort, hoping to show that he trusted Akbar Khan. After a short discussion they were seized, and Akbar Khan, fearing an attempt to rescue him, shot William with the pistol he had been given the previous day. "One glimpse he had of Machaghten's face, blanched with horror and amazement; one cry he heard from him a vain cry 'Az baráe Khuda!' ('For God's sake!') . . . the rest was a confused struggle of horses and men, of shouts and shots and trampled snow." His body was hacked to pieces, and his head carried through Cabul. According to family tradition his hand, wearing his signet ring, was thrown into his wife's bungalow, the first evidence that she had of his death. This ring, which had an eastern design or inscription on it, latterly belonged to Brigadier-General Ernest Machaghten. It was lost c. 1938.

These events were followed by the massacre of the British Army in its retreat through the Khyber Pass. William's remains were removed by the 2nd Afghan Expedition in the autumn of 1842 and were buried in Calcutta.

It is only natural that a disaster to British prestige of this magnitude should have produced a spate of opinions on the degree of responsibility attributable to the principal persons involved. William Macnaghten did not escape his share of blame. Perhaps the verdict of the writer in the Dictionary of National Biography is a fair judgment: "There has been much controversy about his conduct in the negotiation with Akbar

^{1. &}quot;The Judgment of the Sword" by Maud Diver.





THE SURRENDER OF DOST MAHOMMED



AKBAR KHAN



Khan and his fitness for the conduct of the British relations with Afghanistan, but there is no doubt of his personal high character and his brilliant attainments. He was a most accomplished orientalist, and possessed an almost unique knowledge of the habits and modes of thought of the various native races of India, and almost to the end he maintained his interest in oriental scholarship. So late as 1838 he edited an edition of the Thousand and One Nights, and in the following year Alif Laila. He was an admirable secretary, unwearying and facile, a fluent writer of despatches and an assiduous official. The defect of his character was that he was too impulsive, too optimistic, and too self-confident, and thus was unable, in spite of warnings, to perceive the patent facts of his position in Afghanistan. His courage and steadfastness during the last seven weeks of his life are beyond praise; and if acceptance of Akbar Khan's offer must be censured, it is to be recollected that he was worn out with weeks of harassing anxiety, and surrounded by almost helpless colleagues: that he thought the chiefs utterly untrustworthy—as in fact they were; that there was no time to be lost in seizing any opportunity that offered of saving the troops. the women and the children, then besieged in the cantonments. His statesmanship has been judged solely by his Afghan policy which undoubtedly was a failure, and by his reports of the state of Afghanistan in 1840 and 1841, which events signally falsified. . . . The task which was set him, that of governing the Afghan people without direct authority over them, and of preserving the seeming independence of Shah Soojah, white leaving him only a power for mischief, was in itself a hopeless one".

Detailed accounts of his career abound for those who wish to study it. It is worth recalling that Macaulay in his Letters mentions him as among those few in Calcutta whose conversation he valued. His portrait is illustrated in Atkinson's Views of Afghanistan. Many members of the family will be familiar with the two curious coloured prints showing him, bespectacled, in dark blue coat and top hat, riding a white Arab horse, one in the Valley of Maidan, and in the other receiving the surrender of Dost Mahomed at the entrance to Cabul.



A curious reminder of William Macnaghten occurred in 1935 in the shape of a demand from the Inland Revenue for payment of death duties on his wife's jewels. These she had kept after her third marriage, bequeathing them ultimately to whoever should be the holder of the family baronetey in 1935.

FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN

Like so many of the family Francis found a career in India, where he was in the Bengal Civil Service. He was foolish enough to retire a year before he became eligible for a pension, shortly after which he lost what money he had in some speculation. Fortunately for his family his wife had some private means, and his brother Elliot certainly came to his rescue.

ELLIOT MACNAGHIEN

The rich man of the family. Going to India at the age of seventeen he was at once appointed Chief Interpreter to the High Court at Calcutta at a salary of about £2500 a year. Six years later he became Official Assignee with a poundage on the recoveries of all bankruptcies. The end of the eighteentwenties saw heavy slumps in Calcutta with bankruptcies in plenty, so that he quickly made a large fortune, and retired early to become a Director. He was a Director of the East India Company between 1843 and 1858, and Chairman in 1855. For so rich a man he left surprisingly fittle money. The large zemindari of Narschindepore which he had acquired as a bad dept remained in the family until 1918 when it was sold.

Retiring from India Elliot finally settled at Ovingdean in Sussex, a perfect example of the complete nabob—autocratic, irascible and liverish. He had a large family, but it is probably true to say that he was more popular with his grandehildren than with his own, who resented the degree of control which he attempted to exercise over them.

JOHN DUNKIN MACNAGHIEN

Like most of the "Johns" in the family, John Dunkin led a most peculiar life. He was a Captain in the Bengal Cavalry



and is reputed to have ended his life as a Hindu or Mohammedan. A phenomenally long beard appears to have been his most distinguishing feature, and it was the cause of a quarrel with his brother, Elliot, at Ovingdean, which ended in his leaving again for India, never to return.

SIR STEUART MACNAGHTEN

The youngest of the family and his mother's favourite. He is perhaps the best remembered as he outlived all his brothers and sisters, and kept open house for his innumerable tribe of nephews and nieces. He married three times, and it has been said that his first wife brought him a fortune, his second position, and his third a family. In my account of his life I propose to use a pen picture drawn by his daughter, Lettice, merely adding a few explanatory notes.

"My Father was born in India on 20th June 1815, and he was fond of making rather a feeble joke, saying that he was 'in the infantry' at Waterloo. He was just six foot tall in his stockings, broad and strong, but spare. He was extremely handsome, rather like his father, Sir Francis, and had most beautiful hands and feet. After leaving Edinburgh Academy (he boarded with his great-aunt Alicia, wife of Sir James Steuart, his godfather), where he was dux in 1831 and won the gold medal, he went to Trinity College, Dublin. He was then called to the English Bar (Middle Temple 1839) but never practised. He wrote a book called 'Select Cases in Chancery' (he was a well known Law Reporter for The Times), and translated some of the Gospels (St. Matthew's) from the Greek, a language to which he was devoted. He also translated 'The Christian Year' into Greek. He wrote a verse in English, French, Greek and Latin which was inscribed on the monument to the British soldiers who fell at Waterloo which was sculptured by Jacques de Lalaing (his great nephew) and is in My father was what in those days was called Brussels.



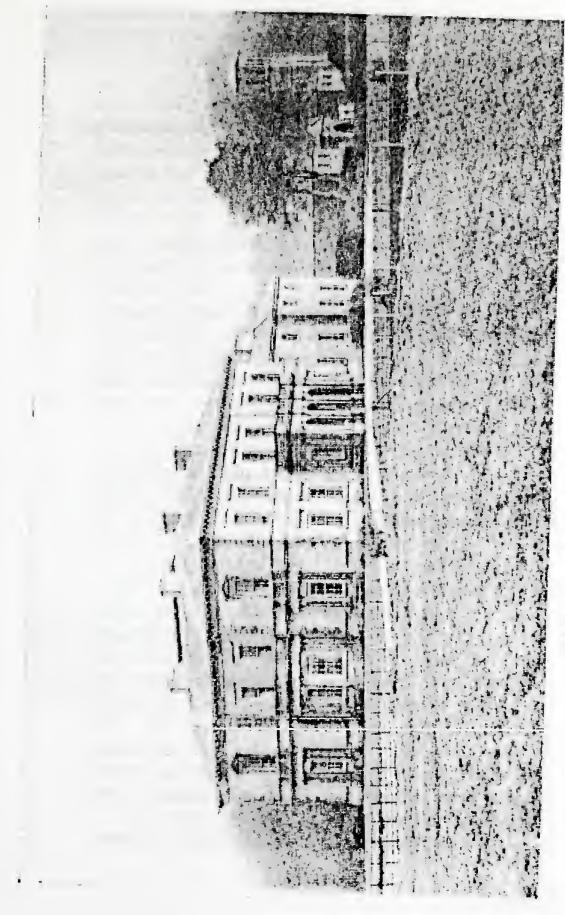
'an elegant scholar' and he had a good library of books. He did not care for novels, but liked plays, essays and fairy stories!

"My father, I think, knew little of agriculture or gardening but he was fond of helping with the hay. Although extremely manly, he was extremely fastidious, and I never remember seeing him with his hands anything but immaculate, and I remember what a fuss there was if he got his fingers very slightly inky. I don't know if my father had much, if really any money of his own, but his first wife who was also very beautiful was extremely rich. She left him a house in Portman Square, where I believe he spent several months, for many years, a charming house, Invertrosachs, near Callander, Perthshire, and Bitterne Manor House, Southampton. Queen Victoria, soon after the death of Prince Albert, spent some days at Invertrosachs¹ and she gave my father's second wife, Lady Emily, a gold bracelet which was after her death given to her niece, Lady Helen MacGregor. My father in his early youth drove a four-in-hand, and I remember we still used the harness as lately as 1908! The bridles had the turrets on them. He also had a box at the Opera, but this must have been for other people, for my father almost disliked music, though he liked good plays very much. I remember his going to call on an old friend who was upstairs playing the piano, and as he went up the stairs he said: 'How dreadful that she has nothing better to do'.

"As to sport, my father was rather fond of shooting and was a good walker and a fair shot. He was also fond of fawn tennis and billiards. I am quite sure that no cleaner or more fastidious human being ever lived than my father. In his day bathrooms were almost unknown, but he washed from head to foot twice a day and his linen always smelt delightfully fresh and clean.

^{1.} See "Notes and Queries", Vol. 193, Nos. 21 and 22.





DUNDARAVE, CO. ANTRIM, IN 1949



Although the exact reverse of effeminate, my father was devoted to sweet scents and we often gave him bottles of scent on his birthday. His only son, my brother, an extremely virile person, was also devoted to scent. My father was very Conservative in politics and hated Gladstone like poison. He had most courtly and most kind manners, was really kind to everybody and never patronising. He was deeply religious and always knelt down and said our childish prayers at night with us. He was fairly Low Church and rather inclined to be strict about keeping the Sabbath. He wrote a small very scholarly hand, rather like many people who are Greek scholars.

"I don't know if he had travelled much, but I always heard of a visit to Palestine and perhaps Egypt when he took his two nieces, Maud (afterwards Lady Dunboyne) and Alice Eliza (afterwards Mrs. Rowley Hill) with him. My father was Chairman of the Southampton Dock Company for some years and was knighted by Queen Victoria after she came to open the Empress Dock. He was also Chairman of the Southampton Bench and, I think, of the Southampton Hospital. He was Chairman of the Standard Life Assurance Company, and went up to London every Thursday for its meetings.

"My father was extremely beloved by all his relations, and though many sorrows must have come to him in his eighty years of life he was never for one moment neglected or unloved. Many of his nephews and nieces were devoted to him. He was a most affectionate and indulgent father, and his anxiety, if any of us were slightly ill, was extreme. My father liked good food and there were special dishes he liked, but he was most abstemious and eat rather little. He drank wine or whisky and water at luncheon and dinner, but in very small quantities. He had an intense batred of tobacco.

"My father always had his letters—at Bitterne, anyhow—brought to him in a private, locked postbag.



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACNACHTAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

He also always slept with a loaded revolver by his bedside. He went occasionally to the Queen's Levee and looked extraordinarily handsome in Court dress. When he fell in love with my Mother, at a tennis party at Rottingdean Vicarage (he was staying at the time with his brother at Ovingdean) he wrote to my grandfather to ask him if there was any chance of her accepting him. When the Volunteers were first started he was an active member, and we had a photograph of him on a horse, as a Colonel in the Hants Volunteers.

"My father was very kindly in his disposition and often said: 'Seldom do people vex us on purpose: prejudice often makes us think they do'. He could hardly have been more adored by his wife and children. I remember my mother being really almost demented for a year after his death. Then, for our sakes, she began to take up life again. We children were heart-broken at this our first and so great sorrow, and when he died in June I remember being very much disgusted with some neighbours who asked us children to a party the following January."

I make no apology for quoting at such length this sympathetic picture of my grandfather, and only wish that his nephews and nieces had similarly recorded their memories of their own parents. One final fact is worth recording: Steuart Macnaghten died in 1895. His grandfather, Edmund, was born in 1679. Thus three lives spanned 216 years.



CHAPTER XV

Some Distinguished Grandchildren and Great-Grandchildren of Sir Francis Macnaghten

WHEN I first planned this book I had no intention of bringing the narrative part beyond an account of Sir Francis Macnaghten's sons, and I proposed to complete the story with a

genealogical table of his descendants.

Sir Francis was the obvious stopping point, being the sole member of the family to have sons whose own sons and grandsons would carry the name of Macnaghten to the twentieth century. But I have come to the conclusion that a short chapter is essential in which to include a biographical note of a favoured few of his descendants. No one will, I hope, quarrel with those whom I have selected. To have completed this book properly I would have required biographical notes for all his descendants to the present day. This task is quite beyond me, and my choice has been limited to those members of the family whose names can be considered "household words", although many members of the younger generations probably have no idea of the place of these illustrious scions in the family hierarchy.

LORD MACNAGHTEN

The second son of the 2nd Baronet, he inherited the baronetcy and the chieftainship on the death of his elder brother, Francis, who died without surviving male issue. Of his large family (five sons and seven daughters) only his eldest and his fourth sons had issue, and the sons of the eldest were both killed in the First World War. The ultimate succession to the baronetcy and chieftainship, therefore, lies with his fourth son's only son, Antony, who happily has three sons of his own.

As Dundarave belonged to his elder brother, Francis, Lord Macnaghten built his own house, Runkerry, on the cliffs near the Giant's Causeway, and this was the home of his daughters until 1950 when the house was presented to the Government of

Northern Ireland.



At Cambridge, as an undergraduate, Lord Macnaghten was one of the most famous oarsmen of his day, rowing twice in the 'Varsity boat race, while in 1852 he won the coveted Diamond Sculls at Henley. His scholastic record was equally notable.

It was in 1887 that he was created a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, having been called to the Bar thirty years earlier and having been M.P. for County Antrim and North Antrim for some years.

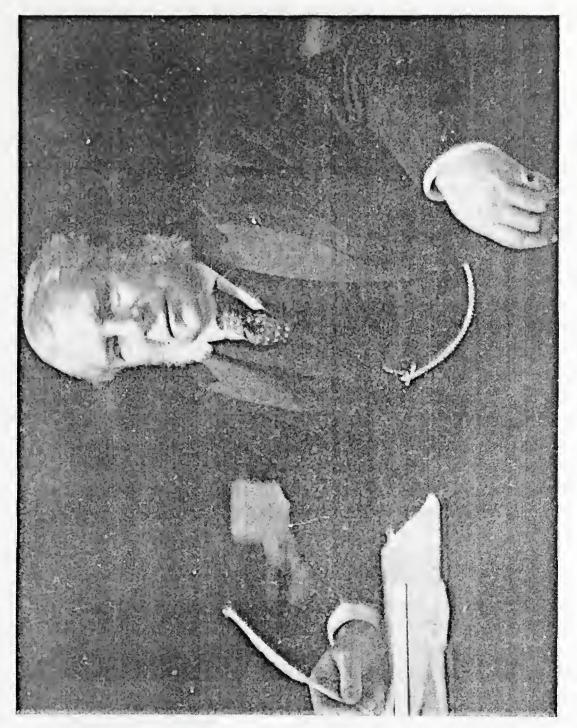
At first he had had a reputation for laziness, owing to his fondness for novel reading, but his quick intellect enabled him to master a case in half the time required by Counsel of ordinary ability.

On his death The Times, in a lengthy obituary notice, wrote:

"His death is perhaps the heaviest loss which the English Bench could have sustained . . . Certainly in the combination of literary gifts with legal learning Lord Macnaghten has had, during the present generation, few rivals. Fewer still among lawyers have had so enviable a career. Brilliant forensic and judicial success is usually purchased at the price of excessive and unwholesome labour and strenuous self-assertive competition. At no time could the words have been applied Macnaghten-noctes atque dies niti praestante labore; for throughout his career he never seemed to be overworked, and always gave the impression of a man with plenty of leisure. Fortunately, having from the first been in easy circumstances, he was able to include that passion for perfection in the quality of his work which is rarely found in pushing advocates who make their way to the Bench. He reached the position for which he was most qualified with no preliminary disappointment, and he lived for many years in the unobtrusive discharge of the highest form of judicial duty".

Two of his sons, Edward Charles and Malcolm, were members of the Bar. The former, who succeeded to the baronetcy, was a distinguished K.C., and the latter, as a judge of the High Court,





LORD MACNAGHTEN



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACNACHTAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

King's Bench, has been well known to us all as Mr. Justice Macnaghten. On his recent retirement he received the well-deserved honour of Privy Councillor.

SIR MELVILLE MACNAGHIEN

The sixth and youngest son of Elliot Macnaghten. After twelve years in Bengal, where he managed some estates of his father's, he became Chief Constable of the C.I.D., Scotland Yard, and in 1903 Head of the Department, a position which he held for ten years. On his retirement the *Morning Post* wrote: "A strict disciplinarian, Sir Melville has known how to get the very best out of his subordinates . . . He is no martinet, but has throughout his career obtained the best results by developing the intelligence of everyone who has been engaged with him in the prevention or detection of crime in the vast area of London".

Speaking to a representative of the Morning Post, Sir Melville said: "I have two great regrets in my life—one is that I was not allowed to play for Eton in the match against Harrow, having been turned out of the Eleven before the match, and the other that I joined the C.I.D. six months after the Whitechapel murderer committed suicide, and I never had a go at him".

Of Sir Melville's immediate family only his younger daughter, Christabel (Lady Aberconway), is now living. Her recently published *Anthology of Cats* has been greeted by literary critics as a most readable work of scholarship.

SIR DIGITION PROBYN

The third son of Captain George Probyn, by his wife Alicia Macnaghten. Dighton Probyn became the "Grand Old Man" of the early years of this century. On his death one newspaper wrote: "Few men had given such long and loyal service to their country and to the Royal Family as General Sir Dighton Macnaghten Probyn . . ." He won the V.C. at Agra during the Indian Mutiny, when, at the head of his squadron, he dashed into a strong body of rebel infantry and snatched the colours from the standard-bearer. Sir Hope Grant wrote of him in his journal: "It would be difficult to imagine a more brilliant, dashing, daring



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officer than Lieutenant Probyn. Indeed, his single combats with mutineers, from which he always emerged triumphant, became the wonder of the Army".

For over lifty years he was a member of the Royal Household, first as Equerry to the Prince of Wales (in 1872) and finally in 1910 as Comptroller to Queen Alexandra till the end of his life. It is said that he promised King Edward on his death-bed never to leave the Queen's service.

Another obituary notice reads: "His long and faithful service to King Edward and Queen Alexandra and his venerable picturesque figure has touched the public imagination and endeared him to the crowd... Nobody ever had a more loyal friend or devoted servant than he proved to his royal master and mistress. The choice was a wise one, and splendidly did it justify itself".

Although liked and trusted by all the Royal Family, the devotion of his later years was centred in Queen Alexandra, who put boundless faith in his judgment and relied on him very greatly. He was hardly ever absent from her side, and his venerable, bent figure, with flowing white beard, was a familiar sight at the various functions which the Queen attended.

He married his first cousin, Laetitia Thellusson, but had no children. His wife's sister, Mrs. Sabine Greville, was a great admirer of Tennyson's, and there are some amusing references to her in Lord Tennyson's biography of his grandfather, published in 1949.

RT. REV. ROWLEY HILL, BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN

Though not himself a descendant of Sir Francis Macnaghten he seems worthy of inclusion in this short list, having married in turn two of Sir Francis's granddaughters, Caroline Chapman and Alicia, sister of Sir Dighton Probyn.

Bishop Rowley Hill was one of the most celebrated preachers of his day, and played a prominent part in the evangelical revival in the Church of England in the 1860s. One unusual claim to immortality is the allusion to his "style" in the Dragoon's chorus in "Patience". Both witty and eloquent, his sense of



humour is said to have offended Queen Victoria, who opposed his further promotion in the Church. An example of his very innocuous wit is given in E. Wingfield Stratford's 'This Was A Man'.

There are numerous descendants of his first marriage. His youngest daughter Maud acted for many years as secretary to her step-uncle (he was also her first cousin once removed), Sir Dighton Probyn.

COUNT CHARLES DE LALAING

Grandson of Thomas Gowan Vibart and Jane Russell Macnaghten, was appointed Belgian Minister in London in 1903, a post which he held for nearly twelve years. He was a very popular Minister in Britain and on excellent terms with Sir Edward Grey when he was in charge of the Foreign Office.

On his death the *Morning Post* wrote: "In addition to his ordinary duties, he did an enormous amount of work during the War in connexion with the sustenance of the Belgian refugees driven out of their country by the German invasion, and his guidance was extremely useful in developing the work of relief".

His son Jacques, the present Count de Lalaing, has followed his father into diplomacy, and is now Belgian Minister in Stockholm. Charles's brother, Jacques, was a well-known sculptor and painter, and there are a number of examples of his work in Belgium.

HUGH MACNAGHTEN

Vice-Provost of Eton, second son of Elliot Macnaghten and Jane Vibart, and grandson of Elliot Macnaghten of Ovingdean, was one of the most popular and revered members of the family, and it was an ironic tragedy that his reason for taking his life seemed to be a fear that he was friendless and no longer appreciated.

In an obituary notice *The Times* referred to him as "Scholar, poet and athlete", adding "fortune seemed to have bestowed many of her gifts upon him, and his brilliant career at Eton and Cambridge was a fitting prelude to his successes as division master and tutor".



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACNACHIAN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

Another article stated: "He was gentle and scholarly, and, although he never took orders, he had, with his white hair and ascetic features, an air of sanctity about him which suggested the cathedral close rather than the care of possibly unruly boys.

"As a schoolmaster, respected, perhaps, rather than popular, he was, however, an undoubted success because of his enthusiasm and his unbounded love for the school at which he spent the greater part of a fairly long life. Etonians the world over have criticized his 'Fifty Years at Eton,' but there must be very few who have not read it'.

He is commemorated at Eton by the Macnaghten War Memorial Library, and it is only right to record that his brother, Terence, shortly before his own death spent many hours of painstaking salvage work among the bombed rubble of Upper School collecting the shattered panelling on which generations of Eton names were carved, so that they may ultimately be restored.



CHAPTER XVI

Genealogical Table showing the Descendants of Sir Francis Macnaghten, 1st Baronet

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SIR EDMUND CHARLES MACNAGHIEN, 2nd Baronet, born 1.4.1790, married 17.5.1827 Mary Anne, only child of Edward Gwatkin. She died 25.4.1885. He died 6.1.1876.

- 1. Sir Francis Edmund Macnaghten, 3rd Baronet, born 9.7.1828, married 6.6.1866 Alice Mary (from whom he obtained a divorce 16.2.1883), daughter of William Howard Russell, LL.D. He d.s.p.m. 21.7.1911.
 - a. Edmund Francis, born 14.11.1870. Lieut., 16th Lancers, died unmarried in India 12.10.1899.
 - b. Kenneth William, born 20.3.1875, Captain, Royal Fusiliers, died unmarried of dysentry at Khartoum 15.4.1903.
 - c. Mary Alice, born 6.10.1867, married 28.8.1893, Rt. Hon. William Robert Young, P.C., of Galgorm Castle, Co. Antrim. He died 12.10.1933. She died 1946. Hilda, born 22.6.1896, married 31.7.1924 Lt.-Col. Arthur O'Neill Chichester, O.B.E., M.C.

Rosemary Hilda, born 12.2.1926, married 4.3.1949 John, only surviving son of Rt. Hon. Sir Basil Brooke, Bt., C.B.E., M.C., Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

Deidre, born 9.3.1928.

Finnola, born 23.5.1932.

d. Hilda Margaret, born 23.12.1868, married first 14.11.1892, Henry Cecil Phillips, of Clifford, Co. Cork. He died 1905. She married second 7.3.1907 Richard Arthur Grove Annesley, of Annesgrove, Co. Cork.

Philip, born 6.2.1894, married 28.4.1923 Lilian Esme Johnson.



Paniela Mary, born 30.8.1925.

Sylvia, born 18.1.1900, married 1932 Maurice Talbot Cooke Collis, of Ballymacmoy House, Killavullen, Co. Cork.

Richard Francis Michael, born 2.9.1908, married first 1931 Elizabeth (from whom he obtained a divorce), daughter of J. Anderson, of Edinburgh. He married second 1939 Elise de Beere, of Cape Province, South Africa.

Elizabeth Doreen Diana, born 1932.

Richard, born 1940.

Rozanne, born 1942.

Edmund Patrick, born 11.9.1911, married 1939 Ruth, daughter of R. N. Rushforth, of Nigeria.

Arthur Noel, born 28.12.1941.

Francis Patrick, born 1.12.1943.

Diana Patricia (twin), born 11.9.1911, married 4.12.1932 Martin H. Hill.

Colin Patrick Martin, born 1941.

- 2. Edward Macnaghten. Succeeded his brother as 4th Baronet, born 3.2.1830, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, LL.D. Dublin. Created a Lord of Appeal as Lord Macnaghten 25.1.1887, married 18.12.1858 Frances Arabella, daughter of Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Martin, Kt., P.C. She died 22.10.1903. He died 17.2.1913.
 - a. Hon. Sir Edward Charles Macnaghten, 5th Baronet, born 9.10.1859, B.A. Cantab, DL., Co. Antrim. He married first 20.3.1888 Hon. Gwen Elea Violet Abbott, younger daughter of Charles, 3rd Lord Tenterden. She died 5.12.1891, leaving issue, one son. He married second 2.2.1894 Edith Minnie, only daughter of Thomas Powell, of Coldra, Mon. She died at Sandhurst Lodge, Crowthorne, Berks, September 1948. He died 31.12.1914.

Hugh Aubrey, born 1889, died 13.3.1894.

Sir Edward Harry, 6th Baronet, born 12.2.1896.



2nd Lieut. Black Watch. Reported missing believed killed in action, 1.7.1916.

Sir Arthur Douglas, 7th Baronet, born 25.1.1897. 2nd Lieut. Rifle Brigade. Killed in action, 15.10. 1916.

Minnie Frances Edith, born 6.5.1903, died 28.5.1903.

- b. Hon. Sir Francis Alexander Macnaghten, 8th Baronet, born 18.5.1863, married 6.7.1905 Beatrice, daughter of Sir William Ritchie, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.
- c. Hon. Frederic Fergus Macnaghten, born 16.5.1867, married 22.12.1914 Ada, daughter of John Webster.
- d. Hon. Sir Malcolm Martin Macnaghten, P.C., K.B.E., born 12.1.1869, married 4.2.1899 Antonia, eldest daughter of Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, P.C., F.R.S. (see Booth, Baronet).

Antony, born 15.11.1899, married 27.2.1926 Magdalene, daughter of Edmund Fisher, and granddaughter of Douglas W. Freshfield of Wych Cross Place (see BLG.).

Patrick Alexander, born 24.1.1927.

Martin Anthony, born 23.9.1930.

Charles Edmund, born 4.4.1935.

Diana Mary, born 9.1.1929.

Mary Frances, born 2.2.1903, married 1931 Laszlo Péri.

Ann, born 1932.

William, born 1936.

Matthew, born 1942.

Brigid Alison, born 18.12.1904, married 1933 W. Jungmittag.

Clara, born 1934.

Mary, born 1939.

Anne Catherine, born 9.8.1908, married first J. Skilbeck, married second A. Ashby.

John (by first marriage), born 1942.

Catherine (by second marriage), born 1947.



- e. Hon. Maurice Patrick Macnaghten, born 2.3.1874. Capt. Royal Scots Fusiliers, married 14.10.1912 Sybil Torbock, daughter of Col. Henry Graham, of Castle House, Hampton. He d.s.p. 5.5.1914. She married second 31.12.1925 Major Gerald Aylmer.
- f. Hon. Frances Helen Macnaghten, born 14.11.1860, died 12.3.1950.
- g. Hon. Beatrice Mary Macnaghten, born 25.1.1862, died 26.7.1950.
- h. Hon. Florence Mary Macnaghten, born 12.8.1864, died at Runkerry, Co. Antrim, January 1941.

1

- i. Edith Arabella Mary, born 12.12.1865, died 16.1.1866. Buried at Brompton Cemetery.
- j. Hon. Octavia Mary Macnaghten, born 27.2.1870, died at Runkerry 8.8.1946.
- k. Hon. Anne Julia Mary Macnaghten, born 6.4.1872, died at Cheltenham 7.3.1949.
- 1. Hon. Ethel Mary Macnaghten, born 9.6.1876.
- 3. William Henry Macnaghten, born 1833, Captain 1st Bengal Light Cavalry, married 11.2.1879 Mary Louisa, younger daughter of George Gough of Rathronan, Clonmel, Tipperary. He d.s.p. 5.5.1914. She died 1.7.1926.
- 4. Fergus Macnaghten, born 1836, Bombay Civil Service, died at Mussoorie, India, 27.4.1867.
- 5. Edmund Charles, born c. 1839. R.A. Killed in action at Waitara, N. Zealand, 17.3.1861.
- 6. Mary, born c. 1832, died unmarried at Upper Brook Street, London, W.1, from injuries received in a fire 18.5.1857.
- *7. Octavia Helen, married 9.9.1869 Colin Glencairn Campbell, son of Admiral Colin Campbell of Ardpatrick. He died 6.2.1889. She died 20.3.1914.
 - a. Colin Edmund, born 1871. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

^{*} There must have been another child who died in infancy, making eight children in all.



b. Walter Francis Glencairn (twin), born 11.9.1876, married 30.12.1919 Noel Agnes Hubbard, grand-daughter of first Lord Addington. Senior Commissioner, Nairobi, died in Germany 5.9.1935.

Cloe Anne, born 5.9.1932.

c. Muriel Mary, married 6.12.1906 Sir Clement Hill, K.C.B. (See Viscount Hill, Colls.)

Clement, married 1935 Violet Phillimore.

Carolyn, born 1937.

Primrose, born 1907.

d. Adelaide Mary Glencairn (twin), born 11.9.1876, married 1908 Brigadier General Henry George Young, C.I.E., D.S.O., Serjeant at Arms, Parliament of Northern Ireland, and brother of Rt. Hon. William Robert Young (q.v.).

Lt.-Colonel Michael Hughes Young, M.C., married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Blakiston Houston, of Orangefield, Knock, Co. Down, and Roddens, Ballywater, Co. Down.

Patrick Michael, born 30.4.1942. Richard Francis, born 4.11.1945. Henrietta Maria, born 29.5.1940. Selina Lilian, born 13.3.1944. Louisa Nina, born 31.8.1949.

11

SIR WILLIAM HAY MACNAGHTEN, BARONET, born Calcutta 24.8.1793, married 2.9.1823 Frances, daughter of John Livingstone Martyn and widow of Col. M'Clintock. Created a baronet 18.1.1840 and assassinated at Cabul on 23.12.1841, when the baronetcy became extinct. His widow married third Thomas, second Marquess of Headfort, and d.s.p. 2.3.1878.

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Francis Macnaghten, born Calcutta 21.2.1798, Bengal Civil Service, married 9.1.1831 Ellen, daughter of Valentine Connolly. He died 6.11.1869. She died 17.3.1893.



- 1. Francis, Bengal Civil Service, married 8.10.1861 Bessie, daughter of G. Westoby. He d.s.p. 1.5.1879. She died 7.2.1901.
- 2. Arthur William, born 19.5.1835, Col. Bombay Cavalry, married 12.10.1861 Louisa, daughter of Nelson Howard, H.E., I.C.S. He died 24.10.1919. She died 30.10.1929.
 - a. Francis William, born 10.12.1865, died unmarried 18.9.1938.
 - b. Blanche Alice, married 2.10.1889, Major-Gen. E. H. Hemming, C.M.G., R.E., of Castle House, Newbury. She died 8.11.1942.

William Edward Gordon, born 26.2.1899, Brigadier, C.B.E., R.A., married 4.9.1923 Amy Hyde, daughter of Dr. H. Rennie Robertson.

Peter William Edmund, born 27.1.1925, married 24.2.1950 Jane Pauline, elder daughter of the late Captain Reginald Berkeley, M.C., The Rifle Brigade.

Jeremy Herbert, born 7.12.1932.

Josephine Anne, born 10.3.1907.

- c. Minnie Louisa, married 25.4.1900 Peter W. Barker, eldest son of Rev. Canon J. T. Barker, of Rushden, Northants. She d.s.p. 9.10.1902.
- d. Mabel Margaret, married 1.12.1898 Edward P. Parsons, of 28 Pont Street, London, S.W.

Ian Macnaghten, born 21.5.1906, married 30.8.1934 Marjorie Tulip, younger daughter of Alan Macgregor Ritchie.

Doreen Marguerite, born 12.1.1903, married 28.4. 1928 Brigadier Jasper Scawen Blunt, R.A.

Peter, born March 1937.

Jenifer Scawen, born 10.10.1932.

e. Ellen Mary, born India 21.3.1875, married 9.4.1902 Maurice Walter Brodie, son of Rev. J. C. Brockwell. She died February 1951.

Ursula Ellen Mary, born 2.2.1906, married 7.5.1926 John Michael Eland, of New York.



Timothy, born 17.11.1937. Jane, born 20.12.1931. Faith, born, 10.5.1939. Ursula, born 31.1.1942.

Kathlyn Florence, married 24.10.1908 Major George M. Lee, D.S.O., M.C., Royal Fusiliers. Anthony, married 1936 Pamela, daughter of J. C.

Hathornthwaite. Killed in action in Tunisia,

1942, s.p.

- g. Olive, died unmarried 1.6.1933.
- 3. Elliot Henry, born 1839, Capt. 20th Hussars, married 20.1.1864 Maria, daughter of William Mills Edye. Killed in action 8.5.1878. She died 5.11.1920.
 - a. Steuart Edye, born 1873. Director, late Manager and Actuary, Standard Life Assurance Company.
 - b. Ellen Emily, died unmarried 29.11.1949.
 - c. Isabella.
 - d. Mary, died unmarried.
- 4. Steuart Lambart, born 1841, married 1878 Caroline Matilda, daughter of Rev. Christopher J. Garstin. He died 29.9. 1900. She died 4.4.1929.
 - a. Edmund Loftus, B.A., Doctor of Ostcopathy, married Ethel May, daughter of Francis Scaife. He d.s.p.
 - b. Steuart Cecil, born 4.10.1881, Captain R.A.S.C., married 6.2.1915 Hilda Marion, daughter of Edward Jenks, of Dunairds, Birnam, and Carshalton. He died 9.11.1918.

Stewart Patrick, born 5.4.1917.

- 5. Edmond Ross, born 1845, married 20.9.1876 Harriet, daughter of Rev. Christopher J. Garstin. He died 28.1. 1905. She died 21.2.1923.
 - a. Ellen Maria, born 1877.
 - b. Nora Elizabeth, born 1878, married 15.11.1911 Thomas Joseph Collins, of Dinard. She died 1943.



Edmund Francis, married Mrs. Diana Gear.

John Edmund, born 1944.

Patrick Francis, born 1946.

Margaret Mary Ellen, born 1912, died unmarried 1935.

Mary Kathleen, born 1913.

Patricia Mary, born 1914, married 1943 Eric Robert Eastwood. She died 1950.

Robert Anthony, born 1944.

Elizabeth Mary, born 1917, married 1946 Brigadier James Strachan Elliot.

William, born 1947.

Janet, born October 1948.

Sheila Mary, born 1920.

- 6. Alfred Hill, born 12.11.1848, married 27.11.1873 Arabella Marie, daughter of William Betts, of Frenze Hall, Norfolk. He died 13.11.1915. She died 4.6.1931.
 - a. Balfour, born 23.12.1875, Lt.-Col. 12th Lancers,
 D.S.O., married 8.2.1902 Hilda, eldest daughter of
 W. G. Lardner, of Hove. He died 1945.

Steuart Balfour, born 18.4.1903, died unmarried 2.3.1920.

Daphne, born 7.11 1914, married 1940 Lt.-Col. Richard P. H. Burbury, D.C.L.I. Killed in action in Normandy, 1944.

- b. Steuart Maxwell, born 25.5.1880, 2nd Lieut. K.R.R.C., died unmarried on service in S. Africa 26.6.1901.
- c. Ella Margaret, married 19.3.1910 Captain J. C. Michell, 12th Lancers. He was killed in action 28.8.1914.
- d. Violet Eileen.

IV

ELLIOT MACNAGHTEN, born in Ireland 1.4.1807, member of the India Council, married first in Cathedral of Calcutta 4.2.1833 Isabella, daughter of John Law. She died in London 1.5.1871,



leaving issue. He married second 5.9.1872 Anne, daughter of George Chester (see Bagot, Baron). She d.s.p. 4.5.1903. He died at Ovingdean 24.12.1888.

- 1. Elliot, born at Calcutta 13.1.1837, I.C.S. Barrister-at-law, married 10.9.1859 his cousin Jane Maria, daughter of Thomas Gowan Vibart (q.v.). She died 27.1.1891. He died in India 18.3.1875.
 - a. Russell Elliot, born 19.11.1860, Barrister-at-law, B.A. Cantab., Professor of Greek, University College, Columbia, B.C., married 1891 Mary, daughter of Frederick Berry. He died 6.7.1918.

Ronald Frederick, born 27.6.1893, Captain Canadian Infantry, D.S.O.

Eva Fraoch, born 16.4.1895, married 1922 Frederick Ivor Jackson, of N. Vancouver, B.C.

James Ivor, born May 1923, D.F.C., married 1943 Elizabeth Mary McLean, of Vancouver, B.C.

Lisa Marguerite, born 25.4.1947.

Kathleen Elizabeth Ann, born 17.8.1926.

Pamela Mary, born 22.6.1928.

Kathleen Edith, born 10.7.1903, married 1933 E. C. R. Cardinal.

Edward (twin), born 1936.

Chloe (twin), born 1936.

- b. Hugh Vibart, born 30.1.1862, M.A., Vice Provost of Eton, unmarried, died by drowning 11.8.1929.
- c. Terence Charles, born 3.12.1872, Colonial Office, Administrator of St. Kitts and St. Nevis 1929-31, C.M.G., C.B.E., died unmarried in hospital at Winchester 30.6.1944.
- d. Kathleen Maria, died unmarried 22.9.1926.
- e. Eva Mary, died unmarried 18.4.1936.
- 2. Francis Hill, born Connaught Square, London, 9.8.1839, Captain, 5th Bombay Cavalry, married Emma Casement,



- daughter of T. R. Davidson. He d.s.p. at Bath 14.1.1868. She married second Rev. A. L. Barnes Lawrence and died 1.12.1927.
 - 3. William Hay, born Hyde Park Street 3.3.1842, Col. 13th Bengal Cavalry, C.B., married 15.4.1869 Alice Ellen, daughter of Lieut.-General Mangles James Brander. L.S.C. He died at Bedford 1.7.1889.
 - a. Frank Chester, born 4.8.1871, Lieut. Royal Irish Regt., died unmarried 3.8.1897.
 - b. Ernest Brander, born 11.9.1872, Brigadier-General, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.F.A. Eight mentions in despatches. Chairman of the Municipal Council of the international settlement in Shanghai, married 4.10. 1906 Yvonne Marie, only daughter of Surgeon Col. J. S. Forrester, R.H.G. He died at Finchampstead, Berks, 21.11.1948. She died Capetown 24.4.1950.

James Steuart, born 19.6.1914, Major R.A. (retired). Susan May, born 26.7.1909, married 3.10.1936. Duncan Morris, second son of Watkin Oppenheim. Nicholas Anthony, born January 1940. Sarah Jane, born 14.11.1942.

Joan Yvonne Marie, born 29.3.1911. Awdry Clarissa (twin), born 19.6.1914, married 23.7.1936 Lt.-Col. Anthony Donald Macdonald Teacher, R.H.A., eldest son of D. M. Teacher, of Spittal-on-Rule.

James Anthony Morton, born 8.8.1937. Hugh Macdonald Macnaghten, born 1943.

Renée Gavrelle, born 18.7.1918, married 1938 Lt.-Commander Alex. A. W. Baker, R.N. Mark Alexander, born 19.6.1940. Gavin, born 2.8.1944.

c. Leslie Hay, born 12.9.1875, Somaliland Field Force, married 27.3.1906 Hilda Mary Ethelind, daughter of Rev. Jocelyn Barnes.



Cyril Jocelyn Gillichrist, R.N.V.R., born 31.10.1907, married 18.2.1932 Mary Evelyne, younger daughter of G. E. Mullens, of Teddington, Australia. He was killed in action in the Mediterranean 1943.

Alexander Michael Gillichrist, born 1940. Angela Kay, born 24.6.1935.

Geoffrey Leslie, born 22.6.1909, married 1937 Hilary Marriott, daughter of T. A. Marriott Castle, of Tangier.

Jennifer Rosemary, born 1939.

Douglas Melville, born 14.3.1911, married 1946 Theela Isabel, daughter of John M. Reid, of Greenock.

Lorraine Thecla Ethelind, born 1948, Camilla Dawn, born 22.5.1950.

Phyllis Eileen (twin), born 5.1.1907, died infancy. Millicent, born 5.1.1907, died infancy.

- d. Arthur Edward Hay, born 1887, 2nd Lieut. Royal Sussex Regt., died unmarried, killed in action 31.7.1916.
- e. Violet Isabella, married first 1898 F. Harold Carlyon, M.D., of Johannesburg, and had issue, three daughters. She married second 8.11.1912 Edmund Hugh Farrer, C.M.G., and had issue, one daughter. She died in S. Africa March 1918.

Adela Rita, born 26.6.1899, married first Gilbert Gordon Messum, married second Maurice de Lisle. She d.s.p. 11.8.1939.

Ruth Mary, born 26.8.1901.

Yvonne Josephine, born 31.10.1908, married 1929 Norman Douglas Vice, of the Transvaal. She died 7.4.1945.

Hazel, born 17.4.1931 at Marandellas, S.R. Alison, born 8.6.1932 in Lusaka, N.R. Patricia, born 2.4.1934.



Sylvia May, born 4.12.1915, married 3.2.1945, John George Findlay Moult, of Kimberley, S. Africa. Carol Moira Farrer, born 21.1.1946. Ethel Irene Mary Farrer, born 31.10.1947.

- f. Maud, married 1904 Ivor Miller, d.s.p.
- 4. Chester, born Hyde Park Street, London, 4.5.1843. Principal Rajkumar College, India, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge, married first Isabella Julia, daughter of Rev. G. Hodgkinson. She died 1880. He married second 1882 Susan Ferrier, daughter of James John Kinloch. He d.s.p. in Bombay 10.2.1896. She died 25.7.1906.
- 5. Henry Alexander, born 24.1.1850, M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Rector of Tankersley, Barnsley, and Canon of Sheffield, married first 28.8.1873 Louisa, daughter of Ross Donnelly Mangles. She died 28.12.1921, leaving issue. He married second 3.2.1925 Evelyn Vere, only daughter of William M. Boyle, M.P. (see Cork, Earl of). He died 17.7.1928. She died 1939.
 - a. Sir Henry Pelham Wentworth, born 4.9.1880, M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Member of Bombay Legislative Council, K.B. 1924, married 16.7.1919 Frances Alice, daughter of Rev. James Cropper, Rector of Penshurst. (See B.LG.) He died 29.5. 1949.

Angus David Henry, born 17.7.1923, Lieut. Rifle Brigade.

Robin Donnelly, born 3.8.1927.

Pauline Frances, born 26.5.1925, died December 1925.

Caroline Priscilla, born 21.5.1931.

- b. Norman Donnelly, born 26.9.1881, B.A. King's College, Cambridge, O.B.E., Inspector, Ministry of Interior, Egypt, married 9.5.1916 Ida, daughter of Arthur Gunning.
- c. Etheldred Theodora, born 19.10.1883, married 24.1. 1918 Rev. Richard H. Malden, B.D., Dean of Wells.



- Sir Melville Leslie, born 16.6.1853, Knight C.B., J.P., Assistant Commissioner of Metropolitan Police 1903-1913, married 3.10.1878 Dora Emily, eldest daughter of Canon Robert E. Sanderson, D.D. He died in London 12.5.1921. She died 8.1.1929.
 - a. Charles Melville, born 18.11.1879, C.M.G., B.A. Cantab., Lt.-Col. 4th Battn. Australian Infantry, married 30.12.1904 Nina, daughter of Dr. Hopcroft, and d.s.p. February 1931.
 - b. Gillichrist Edward Melville, born 25.11.1894, Captain 21st Battn. London Regt., married 1918 Eleanor, daughter of His Honour Judge John William McCarthy, d.s.p.
 - c. Julia Mary Melville, born 10.9.1881, married 3.10.1903 Edward Oscar, son of Julius Donner, of Priesthill, Fuglefield Green, Surrey. He died 23.6.1926. She died 2.10.1938.

Gerald Melville, born 21.12.1907. He married first 20.12.1928 Pearl, daughter of Sir Frank Sanderson, who obtained a divorce. He married second 26.10.1938 Mia Miles.

John Melville (twin), born 1930.

Gillian Pearl (twin), born 1930.

Rosita Ann, born 1933.

Anthony Melville, born 29.11.1939.

Eileen Mary, born 28.7.1904, married 21.10.1925 Charles David, only son of Col. C. E. Wilson.

d. Christabel Mary Melville, born 12.12.1890, married 19.7.1910 Hon. Henry McLaren, 2nd Lord Aberconway.

Hon, Charles Melville, born 16.4.1913, married first 1941 Deidre, daughter of John Knewstub (marriage dissolved).

Henry Charles, born 1948.

Julia Harriet, born 1942.

Caroline Mary, born 1944.



He married second 15.10.1949 Mrs. Ann Lindsay Bullard, only daughter of Alexander Lindsay Aymer.

Hon. John Francis, born 1919, married 1940 Lady Rose Mary Primrose Paget, daughter of 6th Marquess of Anglesey.

Victoria Caroline, born 1945.

Harriet, born 18.1.1949.

Hon. Christopher, born 1934.

Hon. Elizabeth Mary, born 1911, married 1938 Capt. Kenneth Ralph Malcolm Carlisle, Rifle Brigade.

Kenneth Melville (twin), born 1941.

Christabel Mary, born 1939.

Katherine Jane (twin), born 1941.

Hon. Anne Laura Dorothea, born 1927.

- 7. Helena, born Calcutta 27.8.1834, married 20.10.1863 Rev. Canon John Thomas Barker, Rector of Rushden. He died 1890. She died at Whitby 10.1.1907.
 - a. Peter William, born 9.5.1868, married first Edith Mary Ashfield, who d.s.p. He married second Louisa Macnaghten (q.v.), who d.s.p. 9.10.1902. He married third Winifred Musson.

Peter William.

John.

Phillip.

Elizabeth.

Winifred.

b. Elliot Francis, born 18.4.1871, married Margaretha Maria, daughter of John Chapman Walker. He died 27.9.1933.

Guy Melville, born 10.1.1907, married first Muriel Louise Evans, second Averil Anstruther, third Kathleen Manville Hales.

Georgina, born 1949.



Lancelot Elliot, born 29.2.1908, married Sylvia Marvell Haworth Booth.

Dudley Ernest, born 20.6.1910.

Violet, born 16.6.1901.

Margaret (twin), born 28.7.1913, married Bartlet Bird.

Colin Miles Dudley.

Ann (twin), born 28.7.1913, married Cyril Morgan Evans.

James Elliot.

Gillian Margaret.

c. Madeline Alice, born 9.7.1869, married 14.2.1895 Rev. Richard Cecil Thursfield, son of Rev. Richard Thurslield, Rector of St. Michael's, Worcester. She died 24.1.1914, and he died 25.1.1941, both as a result of a motor accident.

Rupert Macnaghten Cecil, born 28.2.1899, married 29.9.1934 Elizabeth Margaret Mary, daughter of Brigadier-Gen. Orlando Gunning, C.M.G., D.S.O. John Richard, born 2.10.1937.

Anthony Cecil, born 15.6.1941.

Christopher Richard Cecil, born 30.3.1909, married 21.10.1937 Sylvia Mary, daughter of Charles Gerald Agnew.

Robin Andrew Christopher, born 26.6.1940.

Timothy William, born 30.10.1945.

David Melville, born 23.3.1947.

Doris Mary Cecil, born 19.1.1896, married 31.7.1928 Captain Wilfred Arthur Thompson, R.N. He died 12.3.1932.

Sylvia Helena Cecil, born 8.7.1902.

- d. Isabella Susan, born 14.1.1866, died unmarried.
- e. Mary Helena, born 7.2.1867, died 22.7.1890.
- 8. Letitia Jane, born Calcutta 13.1.1837, died unmarried at Brighton 5.7.1907.



- 9. Mary Charlotte, born Calcutta 9.6.1838, married 3.12.1867 her cousin Francis Stewart Chapman (q.v.). She d.s.p. at Brighton 19.7.1905.
- 10. Alice Catherine, born Hyde Park Street, London, 29.1.1841, married 14.6.1870 at St. Michael's, Chester Square, Rev. Canon Charles James Hamilton, of Walton Warren, Burton-on-Trent, Vicar of St. John's, Derby. She died at Byrkley 10.5.1918.
 - a. Kenneth Macnaghten, born 29 Belgrave Road, London, S.W., 4.8.1873, married at Bombay Cathedral 25.1.1917 Jeannie Margaret, widow of Alexander Keogh. He d.s.p. January 1939.
 - b. Elliot Henry, born Doveridge 24.9.1878, died 21.9. 1888.
 - c. Melville Charles (twin), born Doveridge 24.9.1878, married 18.6.1910 Dorothea Mary, daughter of George W. Rogers, of Hayden Lodge, Cattistock, Dorset. He d.s.p. 1945.
 - d. Rev. Cuthbert Arthur, born Doveridge 10.11.1880, married 9.9.1913 Agnes Maud, daughter of G. Goodall, of Pine Ridge, Farnham. He died 23.11.1948. Rev. Alexander Kenneth, born at Pyrford 11.5.1915. Kathleen Mary, born at Pyrford 21.3.1917.
 - e. Helena Mary, born Doveridge 13.2.1875, married 18.4.1901 at St. John's, Derby, Richard Oswald, son of Col. Oswald Barton Fielden, late Scaforth Highlanders. She d.s.p. 23.9.1940.
 - f. Alice Josephine (Effie), born Doveridge 27.11.1876, died unmarried 18.9.1938.
- 11. Isabella, born Monkhams 1.5.1844, died at 5 a.m. 5.7.1844.
- 12. Fanny, born Monkhams 26.5.1845, married 3.12.1867 A. A. Dick. She died at Ovingdean 29.12.1882.
 - a. Dighton Hay Abercromby, born 26.1.1869, married 23.4.1902 Lilian Stephanie Ricardo. He died 28.2. 1941.



David Francis Abereromby, born 1.3.1905, married 2.7.1928 Evelyn Francis-Lloyd.

Dighton William, born 9.8.1936.

Stephanie Frances, born 21.12.1930.

Angela Constance, born 9.5.1938.

Cicely Sybil Alexandra ("Alexandra Dick"), born 5.6.1906, married 30.10.1937 Andrew Wolrath Augustin Erikson (marriage dissolved).

Torquil Wolrath William Dick-Erikson, born in Sweden 16.8.1945.

- 13. Eliza, born Monkhams 12.8.1846, died unmarried 26.8.1923.
- 14. Caroline Maria, born Monkhams 11.9.1847, died unmarried in London 15.6.1870.
- 15. Julia Mills, born Monkhams 24.1.1848, died unmarried in London 22.7.1872.

V

JOHN DUNKIN MACNAGHTEN, born Madras 12.5.1810, Captain, Bengal Cavalry. No record of his having married. Died 19.11.1862.

VI

SIR STEUART MACNAGHTEN, born at Madras 20.6.1815, Knighted 1890, J.P., D.L., Chairman, Southampton Dock Company, Barrister-at-law, married first at Invertrossachs 5.10.1848 Agnes, widow of Captain Lewis Shedden, and only child of James Eastmont, of Edinburgh. She d.s.p. 28.4.1863. He married second 7.7.1864 Lady Emily Frances, daughter of Vice-Admiral Lord Mark Kerr and Charlotte Countess of Antrim, and widow of Henry Richardson, of Somerset, Co. Derry. She d.s.p. 5.6.1874. He married third 10.4.1877 Amy Katherine, only daughter of Rev. Arthur Thomas, of Rottingdean (see Willingdon, Marquess of). He died at Bitterne Manor House, Southampton, 28.6.1895. She died 2.11.1906.



- 1. Malcolm Steuart, born 12.4.1878, died 3.5.1878 and buried at Rottingdean.
- 2. Angus Charles Rowley Steuart, born 1.6.1883, Lieut., 3rd Battn. Black Watch, married 3.1.1911 Hazel Enid, daughter of Col. Lyndon Irwin, Indian Army. Missing, believed killed in action, 29.10.1914.

Angus Derek Iain Jacques, born 29.5.1914, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

- 3. Letitia Julia Hannah, born 23.4.1879. Author of "Pistol v. Poleaxe", died unmarried at Cranleigh, Surrey, 10.6.1949.
- 4. Laura Maud Amy, born 5.9.1880, married 29.5.1908 Evelyn Culme-Seymour, Lt.-Comm. R.N., second son of H. H. Culme-Seymour (see Culme-Seymour, Baronet).
 - a. Gerald Henry Hobart, born 8.4.1914, Lt.-Comm. R.N., married 4.2.1939 Constance, daughter of Rendel Street.

Victoria, born 7.1.1940.

Ann Evelyn, born 1.10.1941.

Catherine, born 2.4.1945.

Elizabeth Rosemary, born 20.2.1947, died at Weare Giffard, N. Devon, 25.3.1948.

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b. Katherine Rosemary Letitia, born 20.2.1909, married at Bitterne 5.9.1935 Charles Fuller, son of Professor Stanwood, of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.

Michael Seymour, born 26.12.1941.

Caroline Rosemary, born 16.2.1939.

Elizabeth Van Rencelos, born 18.5.1943.

- c. Patience Ann, born 1.4.1912, married 17.3.1939 David Robert, son of Admiral Sir Sidney Fremantle. Francesca Mary, born 3.1.1941.
- d. Marjorie Rachel Maud, born 17.2.1916, died 21.1. 1934, as a result of a boating accident in the Firth of Clyde.



VII

Anne Macnaghten, married 20.7.1809 Rev. Richard Olphert, first cousin once removed to his wife through his mother, Barbara, second daughter of William Blacker, of Carrick. She died 10.6.1828. He died 1849.

- 1. Richard, born 1818. Of Milburn House and Dungiven, Co. Londonderry, B.A., J.P., Co. Sligo, Capt. 40th Foot, married 1849 Elizabeth Henrietta, second daughter of John FitzHerbert Ruxton, of Ardee House, Co. Louth.
- 2. Henry, Lt.-Col., R.A., married Louisa, daughter of Col. Stedman. He died 1860.
- 3. Francis Montgomery, born 1822. Of Mount Shannon, Co. Sligo, M.A., J.P., married 1858 Mariana, eldest daughter of Owen Wynne, of Ardaghowen, Co. Sligo. He died 1897.
- 4. Letitia, died 1831.
- 5. Eliza Jane, married 1840 Rev. Theodore Dunkin. She died 1842.

According to Burke's *History of the Commoners*, 1835, Anne Olphert had eight children. See also B.L.G. (Ireland), 1912, *Olphert of Ballyconnell* which states that some children of this marriage died young.

VIII

ELIZA SERENA MACNAGHIEN, born at sea on the voyage to Calcutta, married 15.5.1813 Major-General Robert Sewell, 89th Foot. She died his widow 3.5.1862.

- 1. Barry, died young.
- 2. Robert, died unmarried in India.
- 3. Rev. Francis Hill, married 1841 Juliana, third daughter of John Dent, of Barton Court, Hants. He d.s.p. 1862. She died 1885.



- 4. Arthur Henry Cole, Capt. H.E.I.C.S., married 1848 Isabel, elder daughter of William Woodward Sadleir, of Cannoustoun, Co. Meath.
 - a. Robert, died unmarried.
 - b. Letitia Sarah, married 13.2.1871 Rev. Ralph Sadleir, D.D., Rector of Castleknock, Co. Dublin.

Serena Letitia Henrietta, married Lt.-Col. James Austin Meldon.

Lella, died unmarried.

c. Minnie Eliza Prendergast, married Col. George Merrweather, R.E.

Beryl Kathleen Irene, married Capt. St. Clair Wilkins, 2nd Queen's Regt.

Auriol, Corporal A.T.S., 1949.

5. Letitia Sarah, died unmarried.

IX

MARIANNE MACNAGHTEN, born Calcutta, died young in London, 15.12.1805.

X

LEHTIA MACNAGHTEN, born Calcutta, married Madras 12.5.1814 David Hill, E.I.C.C.S. She died 8.2.1880.

- I. Eliza. Lived in Cambridge Square, London, died unmarried.
- 2. Matilda. Lived in Cambridge Square, London, died unmarried.
- 3. Madeleine. Lived in Cambridge Square, London, died unmarried.
- 4. Harriet, married Sneyd Brown, d.s.p. Dorset Square, London.
- 5. Letitia, married John Defell, of Calcutta.
 - a. Alice.
 - b. Georgina Harriet, married 13.8.1873 Sir Frederick Pollock, 3rd Baronet. She died 30.3.1935.



Sir Frederick John Pollock, 4th Baronet, born 26.12.1878, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister-at-law, married first 6.3.1920 Princess Lydia Bariatinsky. She d.s.p. 3.9.1921. He married second 28.4.1925 Madame Alix l'Estom Soubiran.

George Frederick, born 13.8.1928.

Alice Isabella, born 15.5.1876, married first 10.11. 1902 Sydney Philip, grandson of Sir S. H. Waterlow, Baronet. She married second 15.6.1912 Orlando Cyprian Williams.

Rowan Mary, born 15.6.1913, married 9.3.1943. Patrick Walter Low, Colonial Service, Kenya. John Nicholas Patrick, born 20.10.1945. George Cyprian, born 4.11.1948. Janet Evelyn, born 2.6.1944.

XI

MATILDA MACNAGHTEN, born Calcutta, married Calcutta 6.12.1817 John Trotter, of Bush, and of Bengal Civil Service. She d.s.p. March 1852. He died 13.11.1852.

XII

JANE RUSSELL MACNAGITIEN, born Calcutta, married Calcutta 17.11.1821 Thomas Gowan Vibart, Bengal Civil Service. She died 13.10.1886.

- 1. Meredith.
 - a. Edith, married Wignall; son killed in Mesopotamia 1914-18 war.
 - b. Marian.
- 2. Frank, killed in the Indian Mutiny.
- 3. Julia, married London 17.4.1855 Comte Maximilien de Lalaing, 5th Count. He died 1881.
 - a. Charles, 6th Count, born London 4.3.1856, K.C., L.B., G.C.S.R., G.C.C.I., K.C.C.R., Belgian Minister, London, married at the Hague 12.4.1888 Christine,



daughter of Baron du Tour de Bellinchave, Grand Master of the Ceremonials at the Court of the Netherlands. He died 13.11.1919.

Jacques, born Hague 8.2.1889, Belgian Minister, Sweden, 1949, married 11.7.1922 Suzanne, daughter of Baron Allard.

Josse, born Brussels 27.6.1927.

Ferry, born Brussels 7.9.1932.

Ariane, born Budapest 8.10.1936.

Godelieve, born The Hague 3.5.1925.

Isabelle, born Brussels 8.4.1896, married at Brussels 29.8.1921 Baron Gustave de Mévius. She died 18.2.1929.

Ghislain, born 31.3.1924.

Eric, born 22.7.1925, married 2.9.1948 Monique Doret.

Michel, born 29.10.1928.

Jacqueline, born 3.4.1923, married 7.6.1947 Hervè Doret.

Christine, born 19.4.1948.

Anne, born 29.6.1927.

- b. Jacques, born London 4.11.1858, sculptor and painter, died Brussels 10.10.1917.
- c. Philip (twin), died unmarried.
- d. Antoine (twin), died unmarried.
- e. Maximilien, born at Boulogne 4.8.1869, married at Oostcamp, nr. Bruges 28.11.1901 Madeleine Peers de Nieuwburgh. He died at Oostcamp 28.7.1943. She died at Oostcamp 27.11.1943.

Simon, born 18.6.1905, died 23.5.1907.

Jean, born 8.5.1908.

Marie Thérèse, born 23.10.1902, married 8.9.1928 Gérard, Baron de Mosfarts.

Reginald, born 9.4.1932.

Baudouin, born 27.5.1935, died 28.8.1943.

Antoine, born 27.6.1941.

Béatrice, born 17.7.1930.



Jacqueline, born 16.12.1910, married 18.5.1935 Etienne, Comte d'Oultremont.

Antoinette, born 13.10.1936.

Claire, born 23.9.1938.

Regine, born 30.5.1940.

Viviane, born 26.6.1948.

Marie, killed in a motor accident in Brussels, unmarried.

- 4. Jane Maria, married 10.9.1859 Elliot Macnaghten, her first cousin (q.v.).
- 5. Letitia Mary, born 1834, married 2.2.1854 Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P., son of Sir George Campbell, of Edenwood. He died 1892. She died 1902.
 - a. George, born 1861, Major, Boer War, married 15.11.1893 Molly Weir. Died at Middeburg, Transvaal, 4.3.1903.

Faith, born 20.2.1899, married first 5.10.1921 Douglas Christie, of Durie. He died 18.2.1935. She married second 18.5.1936 Brigadier Wilfred James Crocker.

James Desmond, born 23.11.1922, died 14.2.1923. Donald Campbell, born 11.5.1926.

- b. Archibald Gowan, born 14.7.1868.
- c. Margaret Julia, born 8.3.1859, married first 1884 Rev. W. H. Milman (see Milman, Bart.). The marriage was dissolved. She married second Albert Forbes, son of Sir James Sieveking. She died 25.5.1928. He died 1950.

Margaret Eleanor, born 18.4.1898, married 4.8.1933 Stephen Dallas Allan Wade.

- d. Elizabeth Jane, born 25.10.1862, died unmarried c. 1942.
- 6. Elizabeth, died unmarried.



ХШ

MARIA MACNAGHIEN, born Calcutta, married in England 17.8.1822 Thomas Robarts Thellusson (see B.L.G.). He died 29.3.1869. She died 23.1.1881.

- 1. Sabine Matilda, married 21.8.1862 Richard Greville, of Milford. She d.s.p. 1882.
- 2. Lactitia, born c. 1826, married 1872 her first cousin, Dighton Probyn (q.v.). She d.s.p. 1900.
- 3. Adeline, died unmarried.

XIV

CAROLINE MACNAGHIEN, born London, married in London 20.7.1824 Captain Alfred Chapman, H.E.I.C.S. She died 24.4.1875. He died 9.11.1876.

- 1. Alfred Daniel, of Milton Ernest Hall, Beds., born 22.2.1827, J.P., married 4.11.1852 Madeleine Emily, daughter of Robert Hanbury, of Poles, Herts. He d.s.p.
 - 2. Francis Stewart, born 1829, Secretary to Government of India, married 3.12.1867 Mary Charlotte Macnaghten, his first cousin. He d.s.p. 1887.
 - 3. Edmund Henry, born 1831, married October 1862 Georgina Adelaide Elwes. He died 1874. She died 6.5.1924.
 - a. Ernest George Cary, born 13.2.1867, Solicitor, of Dulverton, Somerset. Died unmarried 9.10.1943.
 - b. Edmund Steuart, born 20.8.1870, married December 1906 in S. Africa Muriel Nourse. He died 1909.
 Edmund Henry Cracroft, Lt.-Commander, R.N., married June 1933 Josephine May.
 - c. Evelyn Arabella, born 22.12.1863, died Dulverton 15.3.1950.
 - d. Caroline Ada, born 5.4.1865, married 30.8.1888 Walter Malden, M.D. She died 7.5.1944. He died 28.10.1918.



Edmund Claude, born at Pembury, Kent, 20.8.1890, M.D., C.V.O., married 29.6.1921 Margaret Dorothy Durant.

Robert Durant, born 14.9.1925, Lieut., R.E., M.B.E.

Caroline Jane, born 19.4.1935.

Phyllis, born at Pembury 14.7.1889.

Greta Ruth, born at Pembury 25.5.1895.

Joan Constance May, born at Tunbridge Wells 27.5.1900, married 16.12.1919 Seymour Whidborne. Richard Ferris, born 15.4.1924.

Joanna Margaret, born 13.9.1920.

e. Beatrice, died infancy.

- f. Margaret Edith, born 18.3.1872, married 22.6.1899 Captain Godfrey Tuke, R.N. He d.s.p. 23.2.1944.
- g. Ruth Alice, born 23.2.1874.
- 4. William Hay, born 23.9.1832, married 11.12.1860 Amelia Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Rowley.
 - a. Francis.
 - b. Macnaghten, lived at Tavistock, married.
 - c. Richard. Lived in New Zealand.
 - d. Rowley. Lived in New Zealand.
 - e. William. Lived in New Zealand.
 - f. Julia, died unmarried.
 - g. Nina, died unmarried.
 - h. Eva, married Niven Todd. Lived in New Zealand.
 Several children, including—
 Kenneth.
 - i. Mary, married John, son of John Rowley. Charles, d.s.p.
- 5. Letitia Maria, married 7.10.1852 Frederick Charles Gaussen.
 - a. Alfred William George, born 1855, married 2.6.1885 Lady Kathleen Bernard, daughter of 3rd Earl of Bandon. He died 6.4.1910. She died 22.2.1921. Mary, born 30.6.1886.



- b. Francis May Armitage, born 1860, died 1863.
- c. William Armitage, born 1863, d.s.p. 1893.
- d. Rev. Herbert Edward, born 1865, married Beatrice Hanbury. He died c. 1937.
- e. Bernard Macnaghten, born 1866, married 1898 Frances Harriet Doucha, daughter of John Lewis Garden and Princess Caroline Murat. He died 12.2.1932. She married second 1933 Major John B. Oakes, Royal Norfolk Regt.
- f. Alice, died 1918.
- 6. Caroline Matilda, married 30.4.1863 Rev. Rowley Hill, Bishop of Sodor and Man (see Hill, of Brooke Hall, Baronet). She died 6.4.1882. He married second 11.6.1884 his first wife's first cousin, Alicia Eliza, daughter of George Probyn (q.v.). She died 1.10.1930. He died 27.5.1887, leaving issue by first marriage.
 - a. Sir George Rowley Hill, 7th Baronet, born 28.4.1864, married 16.1.1890 Alice Estelle Harley, daughter of Edward Bacon, of Eywood, Herts. She died 1940.
 George Cyril Rowley, born 18.12.1890, married 1920 Edith Muriel, daughter of W. O. Thomas, of Oakhurst, Liverpool and Bryn Glas, Mold.
 - b. Marcus Rowley, born 13.3.1867, Vice-Admiral, C.B.E., married 17.11.1898 Ellen Mabel, daughter of Rt. Hon. J. W. Mellor, P.C., M.P. He d.s.p. 8.2.1925.
 - c. Alfred Rowley, born 24.12.1868, married 1893 Jean, daughter of J. Cunninghame. She died 1943. He died 1946.

George Alfred Rowley, born 11.10.1899, married 20.12.1924 Rose Ethel Kathleen, daughter of William Spratt, of Portsmouth. The marriage was dissolved 1938, and he married second 1938.....

Richard George Rowley, born 18.12.1925.

John Rowley, born 1940.

Margaret Ann, born 1942.



Maud Elizabeth Anne, born 1894, married 22.2. 1917 Raymond Arundell Leakey, second son of Rev. A. Leakey, M.A., of Bassingham, Lincoln. She died 1941.

Norris Rowley Arundell, born 1.1.1922, married January 1947 Margaret Alison Holmes. Ian Raymond Arundell.

- d. Edmund Rowley, born 19.2.1873, married 7.8.1913 Rosamira Murray, daughter of Ven. Francis W. Austin, Archdeacon of Demerara, N. Guinea, d.s.p.
- e. Laetitia Caroline Rowley, married 20.7.1901 Rev. Canon David Buxton Barclay, Rector of Great Hallingbury, Essex, second son of Robert Barclay of Highleigh, Hoddesdon (see B.L.G.).

Theodore David, born 1906, married 1934 Anne Millard Bennett.

David William, born 1942.

James Christopher, born 1945.

Elizabeth Susanna, born 1940.

John Alexander, born 1908, married 1946 Janet Man, widow of Rev. G. A. Kay, C.F.

Robert Christopher, born 1916, married 1947 Cecilia Lois Jessop.

Patience Elizabeth, born 1911, married 1946 Arthur Davies.

John Arthur, born 1947.

Theresa Elizabeth, born 1948.

- f. Elizabeth Madeline Rowley (Maud).
- 7. Alicia Hannah, married first 1.5.1869 Hon. Henry Brodrick, son of 7th Viscount Midleton. He d.s.p. 31.10.1877. She married second 3.7.1883 Rev. James Meaburn Staniland and d.s.p. July 1892.
- 8. Eliza Ellen, born 29.9.1842, married 25.1.1865 Sir John Ralph Blois, 8th Baronet. He died 31.12.1888. She died 23.10.1924.



a. Sir Ralph Barrett Macnaghten Blois, 9th Baronet, born 21.11.1866, married 30.4.1898 Winifred Grace Hegan, younger daughter of Col. Edmund Hegan Kennard, of Great Tangley Manor, Guildford (see Kennard, Baronet). He died 18.3.1950.

Sir Gervase Ralph Edmund Blois, 10th Baronet, born 6.6.1901, Scots Guards, M.C., married 1938 Audrey Winifred, daughter of Col. H. Johnson, of Boden Hall, Cheshire (marriage dissolved). He married second 1948 Margaret Lucian, daughter of late Major Hon. Charles James White.

Charles Nicholas Gervase, born 1939.

Rodney John Derek, born 1941.

Gillian Frances Audrey, born 1943.

Carol Edward John, 9.11.1906, died unmarried 9.9.1945.

Iris Freda, born 21.8.1899.

Christian Frances, born 21.10.1902, married first 18.1.1928 Edward Archibald Fraser Harding, of Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxon. She married second, April 1940, Geoffrey Bing, M.P.

Inigo Geoffrey, born 1.4.1944.

Richard Daniel, born 5.4.1946.

Flavia Ria Joan, born 26.12.1914, married 20.8.1948 Capt. Julian Snow, M.P.

Harriet Louisa Julia, born 5.11.1950.

- b. Charles Godfrey, born 27.12.1867, died unmarried 19.12.1900.
- c. Eardley Steuart Brooke, of Ufford Place, Suffolk, born 3.7.1869. He assumed by Royal Licence 23.2.1931 for himself and his family the surname and arms of Brooke. He married 6.7.1916 Violet Mary Magdalene, daughter of Thomas Sproat, of Port Mary, Kirkcudbright.

Thomas Eardley, born 27.6.1918, Captain R.A. (Reserve), married 1948 Joy, daughter of Major-General Robert Stedman Lewis, C.B., O.B.E.



Michael Steuart, born 13.8.1919, Lieut. R.N.R., married 20.8.1949 Mary, daughter of Cecil Harvey Mead, of Crawley Down, Sussex.

Susan Penelope, born 24.9.1950.

Robert John, born 20.10.1923, married at Leith 12.3.1949 Ann, eldest daughter of Capt. F. Gordon Troup, of Henley-on-Thames.

Alastair John, born 2.1.1950.

Eileen Mary, married 1938 Capt. Edward Douglas Garnett, R.A.

Anthony Edward, born 1939.

- d. Stephen Russell, born 6.10.1870, married first 17.9. 1919 Emilie Freeman, daughter of Martin Schulze, of Philadelphia. She died 2.12.1925. He married second 15.9.1930 Helen Hill-Trevor, daughter of Hill Trevor Irwin, and widow of Edward Packe. He died 13.2.1951.
- e. Dudley George, born 12.2.1875, married 28.7.1914 Georgina Isabella Frances, daughter of Admiral Sir Compton Edward Domville. He was killed in action 14.7.1916.

John Dudley, born 17.6.1915, Irish Guards. Jane Elizabeth Georgina Joan, born 12.7.1916.

f. Rev. Gervase Vanneck, born 25.8.1881, Rector of Hanbury, Bromsgrove, married 21.4.1914 Hon. Hester Murray Pakington, daughter of 3rd Baron Hampton.

Anthony Gervase, born 11.7.1918.

David Pakington, born 27.6.1923.

Evelyn Hester, born 19.2.1915, married first 1937 Mervyn Chester Mason. She married second 1941 Major Iain Norman MacLeod, D.W.R.

Torquil Anthony Ross, born 1942.

Diana Hester, born 1944.

Margaret Elaine, born 14.7.1916, married 1941 Ian Wilson, of Lichfold House, Lodsworth, Sussex.

Fiona Margaret, born 1942.

Sheila Elizabeth, born 1944.



Ann Rosemary, born 1945.

Elizabeth Mary, born 20.10.1921.

- g. Alice Clara, born 12.2.1872, married 27.7.1929 James Henry Monk, M.A., barrister-at-law. Both died in 1940 as a result of enemy action.
- h. Maud Beatrice, married 18.1.1902, Rev. Canon John Cossham Vawdrey, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich Cathedral. He d.s.p. 1931.
- i. Adeline Louisa, born 6.7.1873, married 1.6.1905 Charles George Lumley Cator. She died 28.5.1941. Savile George Lumley, born 16.6.1906, Major, Hants. Regt.

Peter Dudley Charles Lumley, born 31.10.1916.

Marjorie Hylda Adeline, born 31.3.1908, married 3.6.1929 James Owen Needham.

Christopher James Blois, born 22.10.1931.

David John Manners, born 26.4.1934.

Patricia Deline, born 23.8.1942.

Rosemary Evelyn, born 8.10.1910, married 15.4. 1937 Lt.-Col. Arthur Henry Gurney Napier.

Mary Rose, born 3.2.1938.

Angela Marina, born 23.10.1940.

Belinda Jane, born 1.10.1946.

Diana Elizabeth Blois, born 7.2.1913, married 19.4.1947 Dr. David Imrie, M.D.

Rosalind Elizabeth May, born 12.7.1948.

j. Constance Violet, married 26.11.1898 Edward James Heron Maxwell. She died 24.8.1915.

John, born 1899, died Kenya 1925.

Patrick, born 1905, died 1935.

Margaret Violet, born 1901, married 1927 John, youngest son of the late Bishop Fisher, of Fleggburgh, Norfolk.

- k. Cecily Mabel, died unmarried 1.10.1945.
- Hylda Letitia Grace, born 1883, married 11.6.1908
 Roland Hugh Nelson, M.A., barrister-at-law. He died 1940.



Alarie Lancelot, born 1.7.1909, married 7.12.1940 Rosamund Quentin.

Roderic John Roland, born 2.5.1942.

Hugh Alaric (twin), born 19.5.1944.

Mark (twin), born 19.5.1944.

Eustace John Blois, born 5.6.1912 Lt.-Col. Grenadier Guards, D.S.O., M.C., married 10.10.1936 Lady Margaret Jane FitzRoy, sister of 9th Duke of Grafton.

Jennifer Jane, born 7.5.1939.

Julliet Auriol, born 4.10.1940.

Winifred Joy, born 2.10.1910, married 19.1.1933 Humphrey Boucher Gardner.

Richard, born 14.11.1933.

Nigel, born 30.10.1934.

Philip, born 25.7.1945.

XV

ALICIA MACNAGHTEN, born London, married in London 1.6.1826 Captain George Probyn, Elder Brother of Trinity House. He died 25.11.1855. She died 9.9.1864.

- 1. William George, born 1827, married 1851 Charlotte Lanfield, daughter of R. N. Burnard.
 - a. Leslie, living 1857, died, c. 1900.
 - b. Francis (Frank), killed at Battle of Tel el Kebir, 1881.
 - c. A little girl who died 21.8.1857 during Indian Mutiny.
 - d. A baby boy who died 26 or 27.7.1857 at Kussowrah during Indian Mutiny.
 - e. Gordon, Captain R.A.
 - f. Alice, married 1873 Major-General George Swinley, Royal Bengal Artillery. She died 1922. He died 26.7.1924.

George, born 1874, married 1914 Miss Lumb. Killed in action 1915 in the Dardanelles, s.p. Henry, born 1878, died 1879.



Ethel, born 1879, married 1921 R. Lewis Grist. Maude, born 1882, married 1920 Captain Foster, O.B.E.

Peter, born 1921, Captain, M.C., R.H.A., married 1947 Miss Henn.

Margaret Susan, born 1948.

Michael, born 1923, married 1948 Miss Scott.
Leila, born 1886, married 1920 Col. A. B. Tillard,
C.B.E., D.S.O., Ghurka Rifles. He died 1938.
Nigel, born 1922, Pilot Officer, R.A.F. Killed
in air operations over Germany, 1942.

g. Dighton, born c. 1869 at Karachi, Officer, R.A., married 17.11.1897 Augusta Emma Margaret, daughter of General Sir Francis Seymour, Bart. He died 29.1.1922. She died 5.4.1940.

Dorothea Aimee Ellen, born 3.11.1900.

- 2. Francis Gordon, born 1829, Lieut., R.N., died unmarried at sea of yellow fever 24.4.1855.
- 3. Rt. Hon. Sir Dighton Macnaghten Probyn, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., born 21.1.1833, married 25.4.1872 his cousin Laetitia Thellusson (q.v.). He d.s.p. 20.6.1924.
- 4. Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., born 1834, married 1859 Victoria Charlotte Isabella, daughter of James John Kinloch of Kir. She d.s.p. 1911. He d.s.p.
- 5. Elliot Lambert, born 1839, d.s.p. 1866.
- 6. Hay Alfred Palmer, died in India April 1882.
- 7. Alice Eliza, married 11.6.1884 Bishop Rowley Hill (q.v.). She d.s.p. 1.10.1930.
- 8. Caroline Maude Blanche, married 9.2.1869 Robert St. John FitzWalter, 26th Lord Dunboyne. She died 11.1.1927. He died 1913.



a. FitzWalter George Probyn, 27th Lord Dunboyne, born 20.3.1874, Captain, R.N., married 26.7.1915 Dora Isolde Butler, eldest daughter of Francis Fitzpatrick Tower, O.B.E., Commander, R.N.V.R. He died 9.5.1945.

Patrick Theobald Tower, 28th Lord Dunboyne, born 27.1.1917, barrister-at-law, married 29.7.1950. Anne, daughter of Sir Victor Mallet, K.C.M.G., H.M. Ambassador to Italy.

Hon. Doreen Synolda Tower, born 17.2.1918, married 1945 Major Atholl Duncan, M.C., R.A.

Walter Alastair, born Calcutta 8.10.1947.

Zara Synoida, born Calcutta 3.2.1950.

Hon. Maureen Maude Tower, born 12.6.1919, married 1946 Lt.-Col. Robert Caradoc Rose Price, D.S.O., Welsh Guards.

Timothy Geoffrey Thomas, born 1948. Sarah Maureen Rose, born 1947.

Hon. Isolde Sheila Tower, born 24.4.1925, married 23.4.1949 Commander V. R. Penryn M. Monck, R.N.V.R., younger son of Major C. S. Goldman, M.B.E.

Tasha Penryn, born 7.4.1950.

b. Hon. Lesley James Probyn, born 22.4.1876, Brigadier-General, C.M.G., D.S.O., D.L., married 24.7.1907 Mary Christal, youngest daughter of Sir John Heath-coat-Amory, 1st Baronet. She died March 1951. James Dighton, born 9.1.1911, Lt.-Col. 15th/19th K.R.H., married 1943 Pamela, daughter of William Alfred Pickwoad, O.B.E., and widow of Lt.-Col. A. J. F. Sugden, R.A.

Michael James, born 1944.

Robert Patrick, born 1947.

Anne Christal, born 6.1.1909, married Gerald Frederick Wigram, of Grange Farm, Lingar, Kenya, eldest son of Dr. L. E. Wigram, of Oxford. Bridget May, born 18.12.1912.



c. Hon. Robert Thomas Rowley Probyn, born 8.10.1882, Major, D.S.O., M.C., I.A.S.C., married 15.7.1913 Grace Theodosia Farquhar, daughter of Lt.-Col. George Kinloch, 13 Somerset L.I. He died 14.12. 1938.

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- d. Hon. Theobald Patrick Probyn, born 3.7.1884, Major-General, D.S.O., married 6.12.1933 Hon. Vera Elizabeth Sanders, daughter of 1st Baron Bayford.
- e. Hon. Lavinia Alice Julia, born 17.12.1869, married 25.8.1891 Rev. John Hutchinson Hindson, M.A. He died 1919.

Richard Eldred, born 1892, Lt.-Col. Royal Welsh Fusiliers, married 1921 Margaret Eacy, daughter of Sir Henry Hayes Lawrence, 2nd Baronet.

John Lawrence, born 1925.

Christopher Eldred, born 1927.

Collette Lavinia, born 1929.

Lesley Reginald Probyn, born 1895, Lieut. R.F.A., killed in action 1917.

William Theobald, born 1903, R.N. Com. (E), married 1928 Drusilla, daughter of Captain John Chamberlain, M.C., South Wales Borderers.

William John, born 1935.

Christina, born 1937.

John Robert Eldred, born 1909, married 1949 Betty Margery, only daughter of Charles Gonville Banister.

Alice Maude Charlotte, born 1896.

Lavinia Blanche Marion, born 1899.

Lactitia Mary, born 1905.

Rosalinda Octavia, born 1907, married 1938 Leslie Desmond Edward Foster-Vesey-FitzGerald.

Michael Desmond, born 1940.

Maureen Pamela, born 1946.

f. Hon. Maude Celestina, born 9.6.1872, married 16.10.1895 Robert Charles Donner, of Bowden



Lacock, Wilts., eldest step-son of Julius Donner, of Priest Hill, Englefield Green, Surrey. He died 28.2.1926.

FitzWalter Robert Julius, born 1901, married 1926 Eileen Bertha, daughter of Anthony Winter.

Robert Ion, born 1930.

Peter James, born 1933.

Edward Lesley, born 1905. Sometime Lieut. Irish Guards, married 1939 Elizabeth Mary, only daughter of James Mitchelson Linton.

Kenneth Edward Theobald, born 1940.

Phillipa Mary Rosalinda, born 1942.

Sophie Maude, born 1896, married first 1923 Rear-Admiral Ion Beauchamp Butler Tower, D.S.C., R.N., who died (killed on active service) 1940. She married second 1944 Brigadier Arthur Douglas Magnay, C.L.E.

John Christopher Robert, born 1924, R.N.V.R. Killed on active service 1944.

Lavinia Maude, born 1926.

Rosalinda Minna, born 1898, married 1933 Major Frederick Alexander Magnay, M.V.O., Grenadier Guards.

John Christopher Frederick, born 1936.

- g. Hon. Blanche Amy Charlotte, born 3.8.1878.
- h. Hon. Rosalinda Laetitia, born 24.1.1881, married 2.4.1910 Captain John Colthurst Bowen-Colthurst, of Terrace, B.C., Canada, late R.I. Rifles, elder son of R. W. T. Bowen-Colthurst, of Oakgrove, Co. Cork. She died 1.8.1940.

Robert St. John, born 18.4.1911, married 20.3.1937 Honor Georgina Beatrice Bowen-Colthurst.

Robert Michael (twin), born 16.1.1941.

Andrew Lesley, born 2.4.1946.

Rosalinda Winifred, born 20,3,1938.

Peggy Skeena (twin), born 16.1.1941.

Daphne Beatrice Honor, born 21.1.1948.



Theobald George, born 29.8.1914, married 8.7.1944 Margaret Evangeline Mary Pease.

Rosalinda Aileen, born 7.7.1949.

Jocelyn Mary, born 7.7.1950.

David Lesley, born 31.10.1919, married 17.8.1940 Edna Mary Wilkinson.

David Harold, born 17.8.1941.

Patrick Michael, born 12.7.1945.

Dorinda Katherine, born 15.11.1912.

9. Laetitia (Tishy), born 1836, drowned, near her parents' villa, in the Bidassoa River, Pyrences, 8.6.1879, unmarried.

XVI

ELLEN MACNAGHTEN, born Ireland, died unmarried 27.3.1809.

XVII

HANNAH MACNAGHTEN, born Madras, died unmarried at Bitterne Manor, Southampton, 10.5.1852.



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